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A Study of Community Transitions

R. F. Lund

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A STUDY OF COMMUNITY TRANSITIONS.

Phases of a Town's History with
Psychological and Sociological
Interpretations.

By

R. F. Lund.

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Master of Science

Massachusetts Agricultural College

Amherst, Mass.

1916.

OUTLINE for

THEBIS

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Phases of a Town's History with Psychological and Sociological Interpretations.

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Town of Shutesbury Mass.

1915 & 1916.

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INTRODUCTION.

In less than three hundred years, the American frontier has been advanced from the Connecticut River Valley thru the fertile prairies of the Middle West to the Pacific and the frozen tundras of Alaska. Behind the crest of this pioneer wave, homeseekers rapidly occupied the bounteous regions of our great West.

The on-rush of settlers westward has now been checked. Free homestead lands are practically a memory and the liberal purchase of cheap, productive prairie lands has gone forever. In the search for cheap lands, the tide of emigration swept north and south thru Canada and Texas.*¹ Once more the East begins to feel the effect of this refluent agricultural surge. Mining of the fertile prairie soil has necessitated the use of artificial fertilizers. Increased transportation charges to Eastern markets usurp a larger and larger share of the producers' profits.

The agricultural regions of the East, being in close proximity to the great markets of the continent, may profitably begin to compete with the once more favored sections of the West.*² Native born and foreigners are both demanding farms in our Eastern states. The competition and demand is so keen in some portions of the Connecticut River Valley that one thousand dollars have been paid for a single acre of land.

Many of the future homeseekers, both native born and immigrants, will be forced to settle on the less productive

*¹ Lois K. Matthews, Expansion of New England, P. 21.

*² N.Y., N.H. & Hartford R.R. Bulletin, 1916, P. 4.
County League Adviser, April 20, 1916.

and more inexpensive soils of the East. Where are these to be found if not among the remote hills and valleys of New England which have so long been overshadowed by the rich soil of the West and the broad meadows of the great river basins?

So great are the possibilities of this region that agriculture bids fair to reach even to the hill-tops.*1 Rapid transportation, easy communication and modern agricultural methods will release these lands of beauty and power from the grasp of isolation and mediocre production. There must be, at the same time, in our rural districts a civilization and a background which shall furnish in the years to come the strength of character and independence of purpose which is the essence of our nationalism. Our rural districts must be prepared to meet the agricultural demands of our great industrial East by a new rural social and industrial adjustment.*2

In the past few years, there have occurred changes in what are classed the smallest towns in New England. The population is increasing even in the town of Shutesbury which is only ten towns removed from the smallest in the state of Massachusetts. Within the past four years, thirty-five Poles, ten Swedes, five Germans, and five Americans have moved into the town.

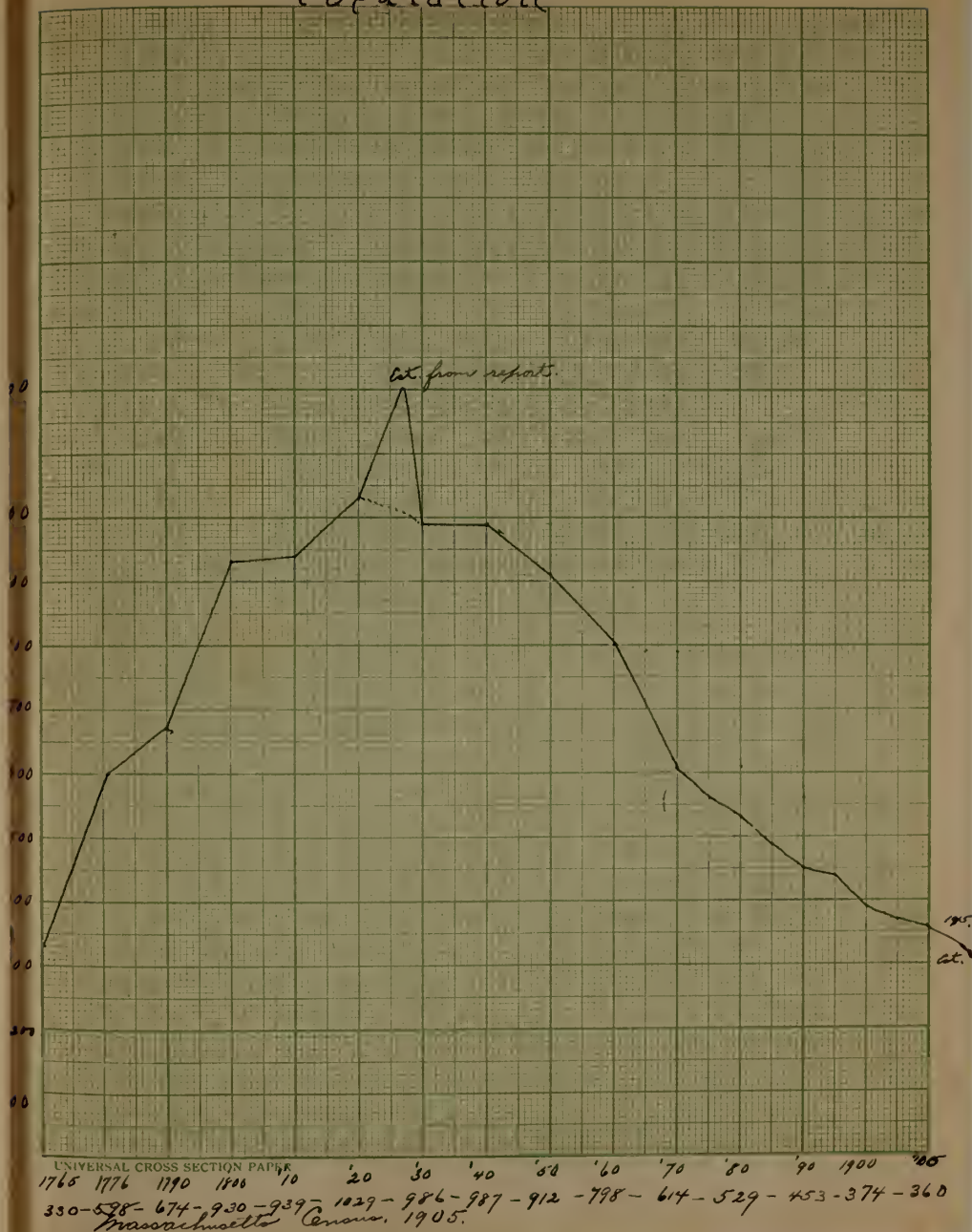
Location and Description of Community Studied.

Shutesbury occupies one of the southeastern sections of Franklin County, Massachusetts. The town is bounded on the

*1 Golden New England. Sylvester Baxter. Outlook, Vol. 96, P. 179.
Helping N. E. Grow. N. E. Magazine, Vol. 8, P. 382.
Waking Up N. E. Herbert Swan. N. E., Mag. Vol. 42, P. 615.

*2 N. Y., N. H. & Hartford Bulletin, 1916, Opportunities in Mass.
D. Hurd.

Shutesbury Population



north by Wendell, on the south by Hampshire County line, on the west by Leverett. It is untouched by railroads, nor is it possessed of water-courses more important than mountain brooks.

The Swift River Valley occupies the east portion of the town. The soil is fertile and the greater part of the town's agricultural wealth was produced from the farms in this valley. The only other stream of moment is Roaring Brook in the west section of the township. At one time, its rushing waters each spring turned several mill-wheels along its course. The general contour of the country is extremely hilly and rocky. The highest point on Shutesbury Hill is 1,240 feet above sea-level. Shutesbury contains 26 square miles, containing 16,120 acres. Locke's Pond, a body of water three-quarters of a mile long and one-half a mile wide, is in the north end of the township.

The nearest shipping point on the Central Vermont Railroad is at Leverett Center, five miles from Shutesbury Center. Amherst, Massachusetts, nine miles distant, is the nearest town of size affording a market. Orange, Massachusetts, ten miles northeast, and Ware, ^{eighteen} miles south, afford the only other outlets for the town's produce.

CHAPTER I. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY'S GROWTH.

"About the year 1733, 95 persons, a majority of whom resided in Lancaster, Mass., constructed a public highway from that town to the Connecticut River, and upon the plea that their private enterprise, effected at considerable cost, had resulted in great public benefit in shortening the distance from certain towns in Hampshire County to Boston, they joined in a petition to the General Court asking for an appropriation of lands to recompense them for their outlay. The petition was presented by William Richardson, and on Dec. 11, 1734, the House of Representatives voted "that the petition be granted and the petitioners allowed and empowered by a surveyor and chainman, on oath, to survey and lay out a tract of the unappropriated lands of this province of the contents of six miles square." The conditions of the grant were that it should embrace land near the highway laid out by the petitioners, that four years after the return and acceptance of the plat 60 families should be settled, and that each family should build a house 18 feet square and 7 feet stud, and clear and break four acres of land for tillage and four acres for English grass. The settlers were also to lay out a lot for the first settled minister, one for the ministry, and one for a school, to build a meeting-house, to settle a learned and orthodox minister, and to fit the road, upon which the grant was based for a cart-way, - all to be done within the space of four years. The council declined to concur in the order then, but did so in 1735, and on the 13th of May of that year the proprietors held their first meeting, in Lancaster, at the house of William Richardson, - Capt. Oliver Wilder was chosen moderator, and Jonathan Houghton proprietor's clerk."

- 5 -

Interpretations.

By reason of the grant being made on account of a highway the place was first called Roadtown, and that name it retained until the incorporation of the town in 1761.

From the accounts of the early settlement of Shutesbury and other hill communities, there may be interpreted important sociological facts which have effected the social development and life of these towns.

Many of the desirable sections of the Connecticut River meadows had been settled before the road from Lancaster to Sunderland was constructed. Only fifteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims, the productive value of the fertile Connecticut meadows was clearly recognized. This land was eagerly sought for home sites*¹ as early as 1634.

On the other hand, the hill country was part of the last unappropriated land in the state to be given away by the General Court.

The town records show the great difficulties of proprietors encountered in fulfilling their grants. Before four years had passed, 60 families must be permanently settled on the lands. Lots for sites were drawn by the proprietors Oct. 30, 1735. Fifty-nine men agreed to settle upon these lots. Many, however, did not do so. The record shows that 54 of the people who drew lots chose to be relieved from the obligation of settling. They were set free from their agreement, by giving to the proprietors their notes to run 2 years pledging the payment of £ 18 each for the concession.*²

*1 Lois K. Matthews, Expansion of New England, P. 30.
Springfield established 1636. Expansion of N.E., Matthews,
*2 History of the Connecticut Valley, P. 758. (P.21.)

In 1740, the proprietors seeing that many persons who had agreed to settle upon the tract had neglected to do so, petitioned the General Court for measures to compel the delinquents to fulfil their obligations. Several of these beside, who had given their notes to be free from obligations to settle refused to pay them at maturity. Suits were instigated against them.

Shutesbury did not have a purely pioneer period, thru which a village life grew from single home units. In consequence, there was lacking that intensely individualistic spirit which characterized the man who lived by himself and was not amenable to social control. Group action was found in the beginning of the town's history. The settlers came in a body from Lancaster, Mass., where they all had lived under the restraining influences of an organized society. Hence, there had been developed in them a group will or group individuality which made the establishing of the means of social control in their new settlement, not an irksome task.

↓ Hindrances to Settlement.

The reasons for the disinclination to settle are apparent and hold in some degree at the present day. They keenly realized the differences in productive value, between the fine silty river-bottom land and the rocky sands and gravelly morainial drift land of the hills. The difference operated then as now to the industrial, economic and social advantage of the former towns. The fertile, smooth Connecticut meadow offered a marked contrast to the rough land of the hills.

The inconveniences experienced in travelling between the valleys and the hills formed a strong detriment to the early settlers.

The Connecticut River, too, was the great travelled thoroughfare and course of trade in the wilderness of this part of New England. Few cared to locate far from the river. Altho the vital reasons for the reluctance of settlers to locate far from the river were due to soil and topographical conditions, there was still another reason for their disinclination to separate themselves from the more thickly settled regions. Indian depredations were common at this period and the isolated settlements were more likely to be attacked.

Shutesbury, unlike many of the other Connecticut River settlements, never suffered from Indian assaults at any time. The early history of the Valley shows evidence of the instinctive integrating effect upon society when called upon to protect itself from a common foe.*1 Mutual aid, interdependence and co-operation are the social results within the group of conflict between groups.*2

Psychological and Sociological Effects of
Early Agricultural Industry.

The industrial life of the early settlers was of necessity crude. The lack of convenient implements with which to work and the need for financial means to carry out their plans were the greatest drawbacks. Out of the human need for shelter and food, grew the industries of lumbering and agriculture whereby these wants could be supplied. Trees had to be felled

*1 Dwight's Travels in New England and New York, Vol. 2.

*2 Ellwood, Sociology in its Psychological Aspects, Page 158. (P. 462.)

and crops planted in order to shelter and sustain life.

The outdoor work of this time was distinguished by its long hours and the amount of muscle required. The tools were rude and clumsy and the machines which did away with hand labor were few. From seed time to harvest, work began with the coming of daylight and ceased only when in the evening the darkness began to settle down.

For a long time, little was done to fence pasture land. Everyone turned loose their cattle and sheep. Many of the creatures wore bells which tinkled and jingled on the hillside from dawn until dark. A pound, built for the purpose of accommodating stray cattle which had wandered from their familiar haunts, was often filled to the limit of its capacity.

In the summer, the men were out before sunrise, swinging their scythes thru the dewy grass, leaving long wet windrows behind them for the boys to spread. Until late in this period, mowing, turning and raking were all done by hand which made the labor of haying an extended one. In the busiest times, the women and girls often helped in the fields "tedding" hay or loading it or raking afterward. The girls also helped in harvesting the flax and grain. Later in the season, they turned their hands to apple picking. Not infrequently they did the milking the year round, using clumsy wooden pails. For a seat, a heavy three-legged stool was used.

Before the days of binders, the grain on the little farms was reaped with slender saw-edged sickles. The peas and oats which were sown together had to be mowed and put into the barn. The flax had to be pulled and ^potted. There was hoeing

to be done and the summer's program was a full one. Early fall necessitated the cutting and husking of the corn, and the bringing in of the stalks. The pumpkins and squash had to be gathered, potatoes dug, the haying finished and the apples picked.

Most farms had large orchards about them and many barrels of apples were stowed away in the cellar, but the larger part were made into cider. At one time, there were ten cider mills in the town.

The sweet apples in large part were run thru the mill by themselves and the cider boiled down at home into a thick fluid known as apple molasses, used for sweetening pies, sauce and puddings. Winter, too, meant plenty of work but it was not so arduous and long continued as that of summer. There was the stock to feed and water and keep comfortable; trees to fell and sled to the home yard; there to be worked up into firewood lengths; tools to mend; the flax to attend to; if new fencing was to be done, rails to be split.

Grain was threshed out with hand flails on the barn floors.

Not much farm produce was sold for money. The people raised and made nearly all of what they ate and wore, and, in addition, they exchanged with neighbors or the storekeeper whatever surplus they had for the things they lacked. Even the minister and doctor were paid in part with wood, grain and other produce. In the early days, the accounts were kept in pounds, shillings and pence. The money used was for the most part

English or Spanish.

The kitchen was the center of the family life. Here they ate, spent their evenings and commonly received visitors.

It is difficult to compare the old life with the new and say that in any particular, one mode of living was better than the other. One cannot readily determine under which regime, character would thrive best. Human nature is the same today as it was 50 or 75 years ago, nevertheless, that nature grows in a different soil and is surrounded by a different atmosphere. Our present standards are unlike the old; the conditions surrounding us have changed; and the way in which our feelings, our desires and aspirations find expression are likewise modified.

The people of that day made the path toward virtue both narrow and rugged. It required sturdy self-control to keep to the narrow path but each sternly held himself, his family and his neighbors to the mark. Any back-sliding or side-stepping called for some reprimand or punishment.

They had a powerful sense of independence, but were very conservative withal. Any variation of thought or action was considered dangerous. Life to them was very serious. In it there was little else but sober work and thought. What enjoyment they obtained came from the satisfaction of work accomplished. Well carried out, was Stevenson's saying, "I know what pleasure is for I have done good work." The improvement of their property and the rearing of sons and daughters

many, contributed not a little to their peace of mind.

The men's characters moulded their features then as now. Deep lines of stubborn firmness became engraved upon their countenances. Enterprise and ingenuity were also written there. In their eyes, were steadiness and unwavering honesty. The softening effect of humor and mental relaxation had no place in their lives. The men's natures were petrified. Sunshine and shadow had the same effect upon them. Fortune and misfortune were received with the same grim determination to take everything as it came. The toils undergone and the difficulties surmounted increased their patience and resolution. They had the ability and willingness to bear great burdens and the generation did a vast amount of work in the world.

Regulative Institutions.

Habits and adaptation are fundamental categories for the inter-relation of social life and in order to control these activities and habits, regulative institutions of society are formed which are law, government, religion and education.

It is a noteworthy fact that all of the early settlers allowed very little time to elapse before their erection of a structure in which to worship.*¹ The meeting-house was the center of all social life and its early erection indicates the intimate relationship which existed between the civic and religious life of the people. Around the altar of the church, the town fathers developed their political policies.

The warrant for the first town-meeting was dated Sept. 20, 1761, and was issued by Eleazer Porter to Jonathan

*¹ Early New England Towns, Matthews, Vol. 27, P. 137.

Dickinson. The first town-meeting was held in the meeting-house Oct. 5, 1761, and of this meeting Ebenezer Childs was chosen moderator.

When a town-meeting was in session, the moderator sat at the very same table visited by the communicants and there received the ballots which shaped the action and growth of the local government.*1

The hiring of the minister was a civic duty.*2 The preacher's voice was heard in all departments of town affairs. The dignity of his position produced by the universal sanction of religion made the minister a conspicuous and generally respected member of the community. It was only when turbulent periods of civic strain and strife overshadowed their sense of decency, that such incidents of sacrilege are found, as in the case of Mr. Hill which follows:-

In March, 1742, it was voted to extend a call to Rev. Abram Hill, of Cambridge (a Harvard graduate), who had been supplying the preaching previously. After considerable bargaining touching the terms of his settlement, it was finally agreed that he should have a settlement of £87, 10s., a salary of £40, and the minister's lot as it lay. In his letter of acceptance, he said "he depended on their goodness that they would not let him suffer on any account." The church was organized as a Congregational Church in October, 1742, and at that time Mr. Hill was ordained.

In 1752, Mr. Hill's salary was increased to £52.

In 1767, the town petitioned Mr. Hill to ease them of

*1 Weeden's Economic and Social History of New England,

*2 Ibid, Page 68.

the heavy tax they paid for his support, but it does not appear that Mr. Hill agreed to the petition.

Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, in 1775, it was discovered that Mr. Hill was a strong royalist, and, a committee being chosen to discourse with him touching his conduct, they reported that they had been unable to turn him from his views, whereupon the town resolved to discontinue the payment of his salary, and requested him to resign. Mr. Hill not only declined to resign, but adhered with even more firmness to his political principles, and a committee was appointed to compel him to quit preaching, and, in the event of his refusal, to have the meeting-house shut up. Mr. Hill remained more obdurate than ever, and refused the town's request to have a church council called to act on his case. A committee was thereupon appointed (May, 1775) to prevent his further preaching, and to prevent his leaving the town; and in furtherance of the latter purpose he was for a time confined in the public pound, and forced to live on herrings thrown to him over the fence.

Meanwhile, the town sought to obtain another preacher, and voted money for the purpose; but several inhabitants, protesting that Mr. Hill was still the minister, the purpose, as the records indicate, was not effected.

In this condition matters remained, Mr. Hill still holding out obdurately, and claiming that he had done nothing to warrant his dismissal, until 1778, when the town succeeded in assembling an ecclesiastical council composed of the pastors of neighboring churches, and, Mr. Hill's case being discussed,

it was decided that his relations with the church of Shutesbury should be forfeited. Mr. Hill thereupon removed to Brookfield, and carried away the church records and Bible, which, although importuned to do so, he refused to return and for this reason the early church records are unobtainable. For three years previous to his removal the town had withheld his salary and for this he brought suit in 1778, and gained it.

After Mr. Hill's dismissal in 1778, the Congregational Church enjoyed no regular preaching, and it continued to decline steadily in membership until in 1806, there was but one member left.

Among the social forces which motivate society, ideas as opposed to forces of environment are the most powerful agents of social control. Free discussion and selection of ideals had permitted an interchange of opinions concerning the justice of events leading up to the Revolutionary War. When the war broke out, there had crystallized in the minds of the people, a relatively fixed manner of thinking regarding these events. This fixed manner of thinking may be called public opinion.

Thru the disinclination or inability of the minister to conform to the tenor of public opinion, there was soon manifest a serious rupture.

When an individual varies too greatly from the standards of a group, pressure is brought to bear thru punishment or reward in order to make him conform and coordinate his activities advantageously with those of his group.

Ministers, in those days, were as a rule hired for life. It was a very difficult problem to dismiss those who had incurred the displeasure of their constituents. If a new minister were desired, it was often necessary to pension the former one for the remainder of his life, and at the same time support the incoming clergyman as well.

In that year Jonathan Burt was awarded the privilege of building "a convenient pew at the left hand of the fore or south door, upon condition that he give some land on the back side of the meeting house for the use of the proprietors; said piece to be one and a half rods wide, and running the whole length of the four acres given by Gov. Belcher."^{*1}

The members as a whole undertook at all times to regulate the religious affairs of the church, from those of importance to those of extreme insignificance. Large and small events were planned for with equally minute and painstaking care. An example of this shows itself in the efforts put forth to seat the congregation.

Let no one imagine that those who occupied the open benches or those who sat in the private pews did so by chance. They did not happen to be there. They were there because that was where they belonged. There was no such thing as equality. Neither was there granted personal freedom to act at will.^{*2}

It was the task of a committee to assign seats to all the members. This small group of men was instructed to respect "estate, office and age" in the disposition of the seats.

*1 History of Connecticut Valley, Page 7.

*2 Weeden's Economic and Social History of New England, Page 281.

This seating of certain individuals in certain pews shows clearly that New England society was working thru its English traditions of rank and prestige and formulating a new code of manners adapted to the new nation. Great care was taken to preserve social rank in the persons of the clergymen, the squires, the merchants and men of substance. The deference paid to town officials in later history is an outgrowth of the early training received in social recognition. The care shown in seating the congregation went beyond the immediate operations of the meeting-house. The "meeting was the central life and activity of the neighborhood. In the intervals of religious service, there was always an actual meeting where gossip, social and political, enlivened the dark shadows of their hard lives.*1

The purely social character of the divisions and distinctions are worthy of notice. The family and even the church itself were second to the general relations of the individual to the entire community.

Gradually in the course of development, the institutions of rank gave place to the institutions of property. After this abandonment of rank, the individual believed that whatever was public belonged to all together regardless of his high or low estate.

Education.

The first entry on the records touching the matter of public education was made in 1762, when it was voted to "do something in order to the having a school in the town for the benefit of the children." It was not until 1765 that effort was made on education's behalf, when £6 was raised for schooling. In 1768,

*1 Weeden's Economic and Social History of New England,
Page 699.

it was agreed to raise £4 for a school and in 1771, £6 were raised. In 1774 the interests of education began to improve, for in that year £10 were raised for their advancement.

During this year, school was kept in the meeting-house and at John Wilde's house. In 1781 there was renewed interest in education manifested, and £12 were raised and divided between the North End and the Centre. Educational interests brightened again in 1782 thru a gratuity of \$1040. received by the town from the clerk of the Court of General Sessions.

Six years later, the town created five school districts, the first being east of Swift River, the second east of the meeting-house, the third west of the meeting-house, the fourth east of the second, and the fifth west of the third and fourth. The number of districts was increased in 1791 to six, and in 1878 to seven, the amount of money set apart for school support the previous year was \$1122, and the average daily attendance 95 scholars.

As a result of Martin Luther's teaching, religion and education became inseparable. It was deemed necessary to be educated principally for ability thereby gained to read the Bible. It is evident that the early settlers of our country still retained this idea. "After God had carried us safe to New England", said one old settler, "and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and to perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present minister shall be in dust."*1

al

The education system in the early days of Shutesbury did not permit the acquisition of a varied or extensive training for only the rudiments of education were ever taught. In a large number of communities, education was neglected entirely for a long period of time during the settlement days.*1 The history of Shutesbury, on the contrary, even in its enfeebled financial condition was not unmindful of its educational obligations. This fact may be ascribed to the influence of the minister who was a Harvard graduate and interested in retaining the traditions of his profession and Alma Mater. It may be clearly discerned from the description of all school programs that primarily boys were trained to enter either the ministry or law. In most of the New England schools, it was usually the case that the school master had been trained in a larger educational centre and brought with him many descriptions of outside activities. Thus early, may be seen in the educational training, forces which were leading the thought of the young away from their homes and the agricultural pursuits of their fathers. The brilliant young man was often taken into the home of the minister where he might receive the foundations of Greek and Latin which would permit him to enter a higher institution of learning than the town afforded. But these institutions of higher learning were not those which dealt with industrial problems of every-day country life. As a consequence, the rural towns early in their history began to lose the best minds thru social forces which up to this day have continued to urge the youth away from the rural districts.*2

*1 Timothy Dwight's Travels, Pages 256-475.
Belknap's History of New Hampshire, Vol. III, P. 289.

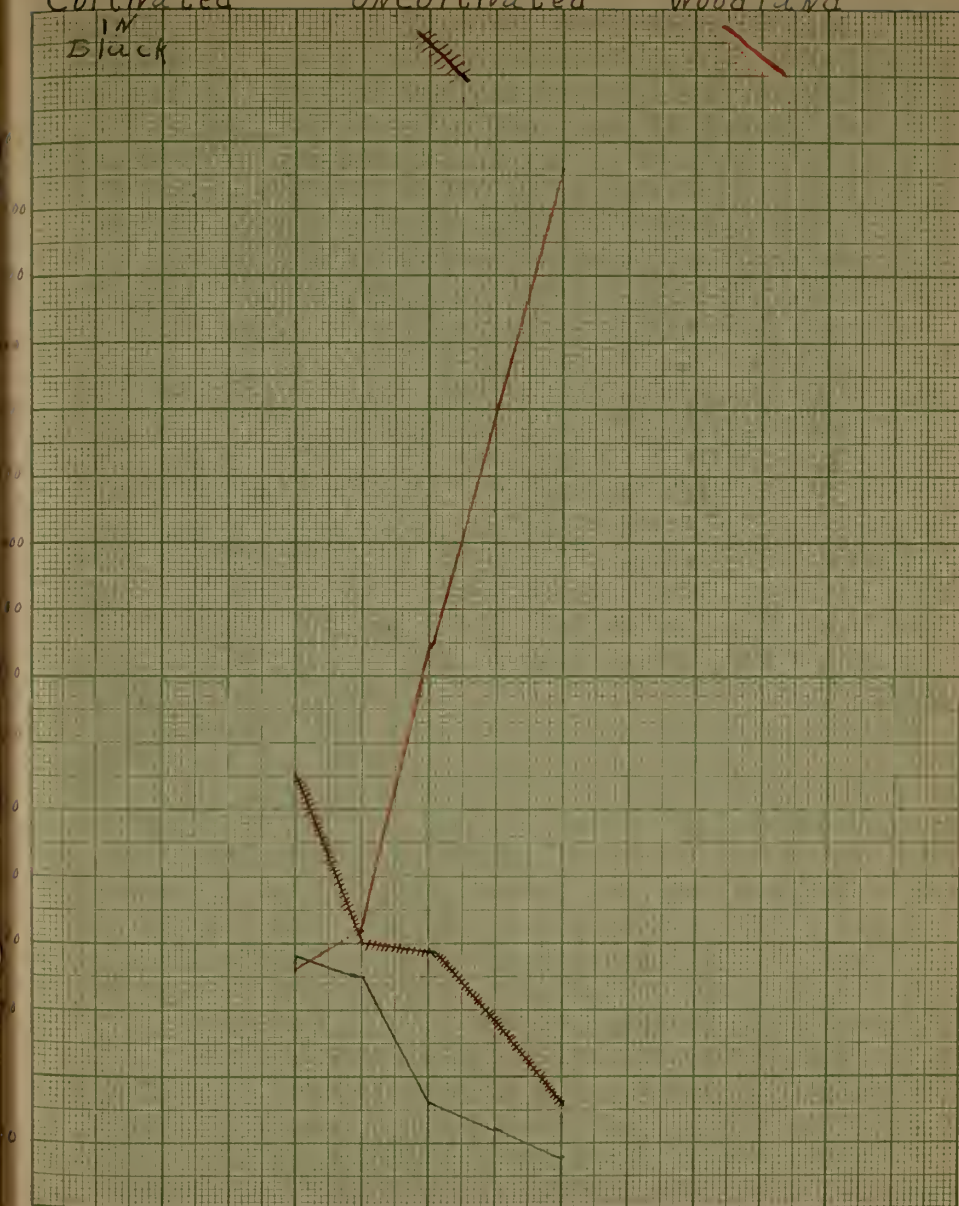
*2 Report of Shutesbury School Committee, 1858-'9.
Harold Voght, The Country Community, P. 10.

Acres

Cultivated
in
Black

Uncultivated

Woodland



UNIVERSAL CROSS SECTION PAPER

1865 '70 '80 '90 1905

Massachusetts Census.

Value of
Cultivated land

UNIVERSAL CROSS SECTION PAPER

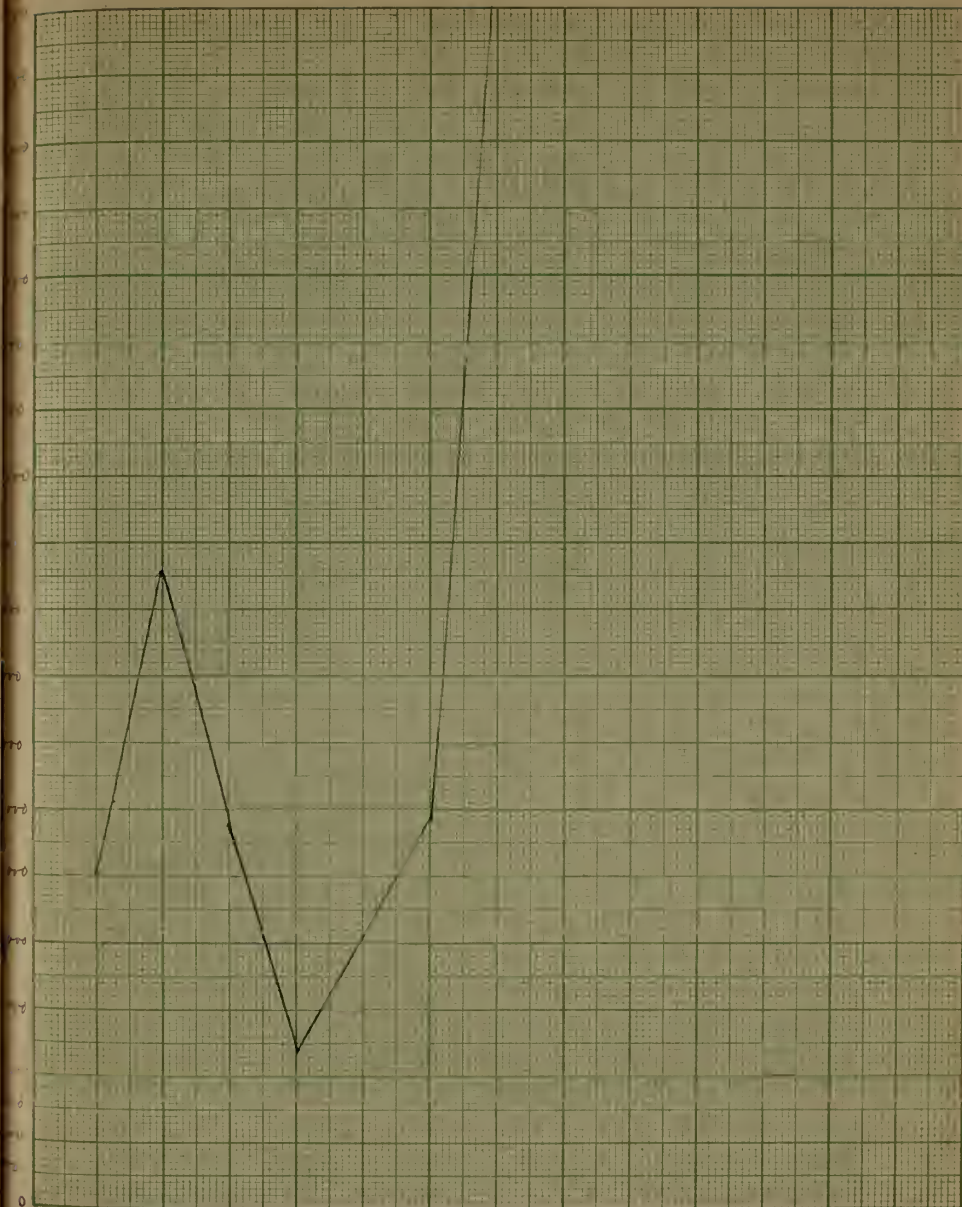
12-4-55

$\frac{1}{T} = \frac{1}{T_0} + \frac{\alpha}{T_0^2}$

James M. & Co.

Value of Lumber and Wood Products

\$36,839



UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE
 13,020 - 19,046 - 11,525 - 4760 - 7,889 - 11,671 - 36,839

Massachusetts Census.

Chapter 2. Period of Town's Decline.

Lumbering.

The first demand for hewn timber from the Shutesbury hills came when the Railroad was built thru Montague on the Boston and *Maine* Division in 1845.* #2 It was not long before the timber had been cut from the sections thru which the Railroad ran and demands were made upon the sections further away. In the early days of railroading, the engines used wood for fuel. Thousands of cords of wood were purchased in Shutesbury, hauled to Montague to be used on the B. & A. R. R. From the southwestern section of the town, cord wood was hauled to Amherst, to be used as fuel on the New Haven and New London R. R. The demand also increased for railroad ties on these roads as the timber in the more densely settled regions was cut off. Lumber was a ready and salable commodity at all times.

The census of Massachusetts (see charts) for 1855, shows that there were prepared in the town 2,281,000 ft. of lumber valued at \$18,248. Sixty-six men received employment in the business at that time. Ten years later, there were 10 saw-mills in operation which sawed 910,000 feet of lumber valued at \$10,340 in addition to 120,000 ft. of shingles, staves, lath, and clap-boards valued at \$1,225. From statements made by men engaged in the mill business in 1870, the actual value of the output was thought to be twice as great as it was recorded to be*1 in the reports.

The town, in 1872, still retained 10 saw-mills, (see chart) all operated by the numerous streams which in the spring

*1 Rufus Fitts, Shutesbury, Mass.

*2 History of Greenfield, page 325.

afforded adequate power for the sawing of lumber both for export trade and home use.

Money was also obtained thru the sale of the poorer grades of timber to the Cushman Mills to be made into mungle-board and brown wrapping paper. Cord after cord of wood of all kinds was hauled from Shutesbury to the 5 paper mills above mentioned. A resident of Shutesbury estimated that in 1875 he alone drew 100 cords.*¹

For two imperative reasons, the timber was sold as soon as the wood was sufficiently matured; for immediate cash use and because the danger from fire might wipe out the accumulated growth of years.*²

The beauty of the forest passed them without their recognition. The trees were merely a source of income. The wind tossing the branches about made no poetic appeal. On the contrary, it was an annoyance to them, especially when it blew the snow into their cold faces. The calm of nature's solitude had no effect upon them. These woodsmen rapidly developed a rough and uncouth appearance and manners, for there was no great intercourse with people which would encourage carefulness of speech and action.

This outdoor work tended to produce health and longevity in those who engaged in it, which of course was a distinct advantage.

The majority of the men owning mills were considered

*. 2 Cf. Article. A farmer's view of the forestry question, New England Magazine, Vol. 40, P. 369.

*. 1 C. T. Bacon, Amherst, Mass.

well-to-do. In the seven social groups of the town which will be mentioned, the influential families of the community were owners of the saw-mills of the section. At the same time, these men were also among the most prosperous farmers of the community. Only in the south-eastern section, in the Swift River Valley, where the farms were very fertile, were families found not owning timber interests, whose influence extended to town affairs to any appreciable extent. Lumbering was considered by the towns-people, not as a business in which the future of the industry was to be cared for, but as one of the immediate sources for cash.

Home Industries.

An industry which might be called a social custom was braiding men's and boys' palm-leaf hats. Nearly every family of the community had some member or members who added to the family purse by braiding hats. The larger part of this home industry was done in the homes of the non-mill owning and prosperous farmers of the community. A real social habit grew up about this branch of employment. When this industry was first started, 1850-'58, peddlars from Amherst first gave the palm leaf to the people. They soon found that some people were wasteful of the material, and afterwards paid a slightly higher price for the hat, selling the leaf to them. The daily life of the children included the "stint" of braiding at least two hats before and after school. Only after their daily stint was completed was any recreation permitted. In many homes but little housework was required from the girls. They devoted their entire time to braiding. The women were not the only members of the community who braided. Several men in the winter made it their business, and one became so skilled

Hat Broiding

100

100

100

UNIVERSAL CROSS SECTION PAPER

1837 '45 '55 '65 '75 '85 95

Massachusetts Census

in the art that no one - not even the women of the town - could outdo his record.

Prices for braiding varied from six and seven cents to twenty-five and twenty-eight cents per finished hat. The cheaper hats called numbers 1, 2 and 3 were made from coarse strands and not well finished. From one-half to three-quarters of an hour was consumed in making one of these cheaper hats. The more expensive hats were made from fine materials and were more neatly done. There were but few of these made, however. In a family of five people, the income per week has averaged from twenty to twenty-five dollars. When the palm-leaf hat industry was at its height, which was in 1845, \$10,000 were taken into the town.*¹ During the next ten years, the annual income from this source decreased one-half. In 1865, the total profit from hat-braiding was nearly \$3000. The following decade witnessed a complete decline in the industry as proven by the small amount of money taken in for this work in 1875.

The accompanying graph shows the course of the decline of the hat-braiding industry. At the height of the industry, the straw pressing shops usually sold the palm-leaf to the people and the finished product was purchased by them.

With the opening of extensive foreign trade, the shops discovered that they could purchase braid and straw of a much finer quality, from the Orient, and manufacture hats at a much lower cost than the people of the surrounding villages could braid it for them. When the demand ceased, the braiding industry forsook the hills.

*¹ Census Report for Massachusetts, 1845.

The days of the spinning wheel had gone, but the old sociability of rural life was kept up in their many braiding bees. The women congregated at some home and the day was spent making hats together. The men in the evening either helping or "setting" about in the kitchen smoking. Many of the most enjoyable recollections of the people of this town are centered about the sociable gatherings of the braiding-bees. Town gossip, the new babies, the latest scandal were the usual topics of conversation. Rarely were topics of a more substantial nature made the subjects of conversation. Putternuts, chestnuts, walnuts, apples and cider were the usual refreshments served at the gatherings which were usually held two or three times during the winter. The custom of neighbors running in to spend the evening was prevalent. Scarcely an evening passed without two or more families braiding together at each other's homes.

Women and children in the summer picked thousands of quarts of huckleberries. Berry picking was a much more lucrative occupation than braiding hats. Consequently, the braiding industry thrived in winter and berry-picking was the regular practice in the summer. A witness from Shutesbury at a trial which has made the town infamous, when asked what were the occupations of the people in Shutesbury, replied, "They raise huckleberries in summer and hell in winter." As in the case of braiding, the children were required to pick a designated number of quarts of berries each day. Hucksters from the surrounding towns gathered the fruit and often sold in exchange tinware, brooms, brushes, wooden pails, and various other

household utensils. The usual price received for the berries was 3 to 5¢ per quart.

A group made up of the relatives of one family have been noted for several generations for its split-wood basket making. White and black ash and white oak were the woods usually used. A stick from one-half to an inch square of the woods above mentioned was laid on a block and pounded with a stone or iron mallet. After considerable beating, the wood split with the grain. The strands were tied, put thru a soaking process and finally woven into baskets of all descriptions. Peck, half-bushel, bushel, onion, clothes, market and hampers were some of the various types of baskets manufactured. The male members of the family travelled for miles about the country disposing of their wares. Wagon loads of baskets piled as hay-loads were frequently disposed of in Hadley, Northampton, Ware, Orange. They were always sold from house-to-house.

Boots and shoes were at one time made in this community. Three little shops in the centre employing from 7 to 12 hands each turned out from 4 to 6 pairs of boots per day and from 10 to 12 pairs of shoes per day. In addition there were in 1842 six shops operating in connection with the homes. From three to five dollars a pair was usually asked for cheap calf-skin boots. Hides were brought from Athol 12 miles away for manufacture.

Taverns

Taverns were very popular places in the early days. Notices of town-meetings, of election, of new laws, were posted at the tavern just as legal notices are printed in newspapers

now-a-days. Distances were given in almanacs of the day not from town to town but from tavern to tavern.

A hotel called Old Pool Tavern stood on the Main Street. Visitors to this hotel came from places as far distant as New York and Boston for the believed curative properties of the mineral waters. ~~E~~^Szema was one of the diseases which this water was supposed to cure. The hotel was built in 1845. During its early days, there was considerable summer business. The reputed large numbers of people who are said to have been guests at this tavern must have brought something of the outside world activity to the town, altho nothing could be found which would indicate that there was any marked change. For twenty years before the hotel burned in 1893, it had been used as a private residence. In 1893, it was purchased and very elaborately remodelled and renovated with the idea that the hotel business might again be revived. Just before the work was entirely completed, the structure caught fire and was destroyed, and never was rebuilt.

Another hotel was located at Mt. Mineral Springs. This hotel attracted for years quite a number of guests from a distance. The largest number accommodated at one time was thirty. There was no connection nor influence, socially, between the hotel and the town of Shutesbury. The guests came to Montague or Orange on the train, and from these stations were conveyed by carriages to the hotel. There were only two or three people drawn from Shutesbury to work about the hotel during the summer. Rarely the hotel team might be seen driving thru the village with guests. The supplies for the hotel were

purchased in Boston. Most of the help came from Orange or Montague. It is evident that the hotel stimulated but little the activities of Shutesbury.

On the brow of Shutesbury Hill stood another hotel. Its history covers a period contemporaneous with the Mt. Mineral Spring House. During the early days of this hotel's history, it did a thriving business, accommodating many summer guests. In winter, it served as a favorite lounging place for the men of the town.

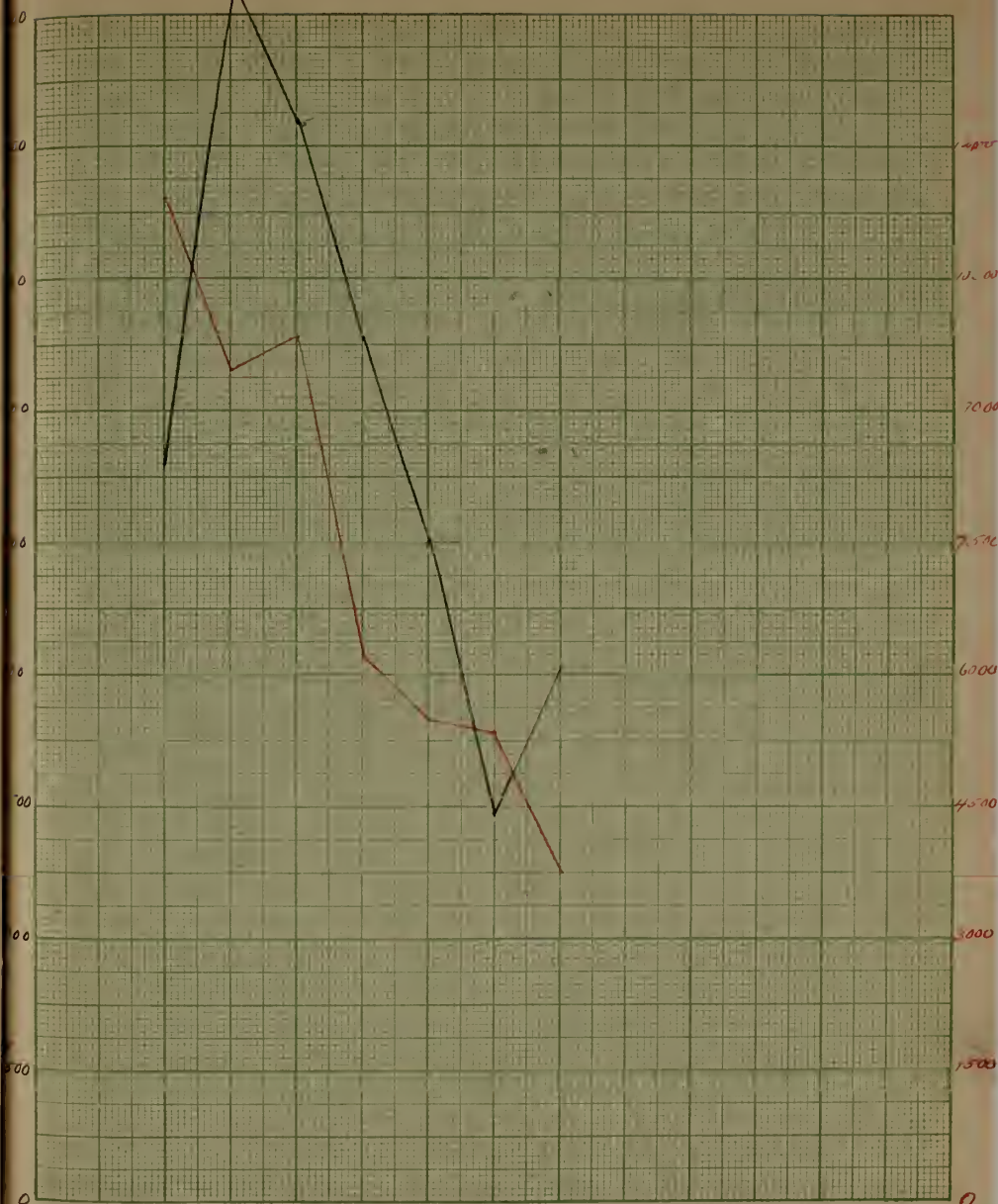
The fame of the Mt. Mineral Spring Hotel had gone abroad so that when guests came to the Town Tavern, they frequently demanded the Mt. Mineral Spring water to drink. The proprietor at first religiously had the spring water carted about 6 miles from the spring to his hotel. The trips soon grew more and more infrequent, but the supply of mineral water never failed. A man is still living who used to fill the jugs at a spring just below the hotel and by the time the jugs reached the "liquor closet", the Mt. Mineral water was of poor quality compared with it. A small amount of sulphur solution had been poured into the bottom of each jug. There is evidence that the Mt. Mineral Spring water was slightly impregnated with sulphur also.*1

This hotel was always a detriment to the morality of the town as will be shown later. A great deal of liquor was sold at all periods in the history of this hotel. A former employee stated that people from Hadley, Northampton, Deerfield and Sunderland used the hotel for immoral purposes. Gambling

*1 Geologist History of Old Hampshire County, P. 328.

#4699 Potatoes

Bushels

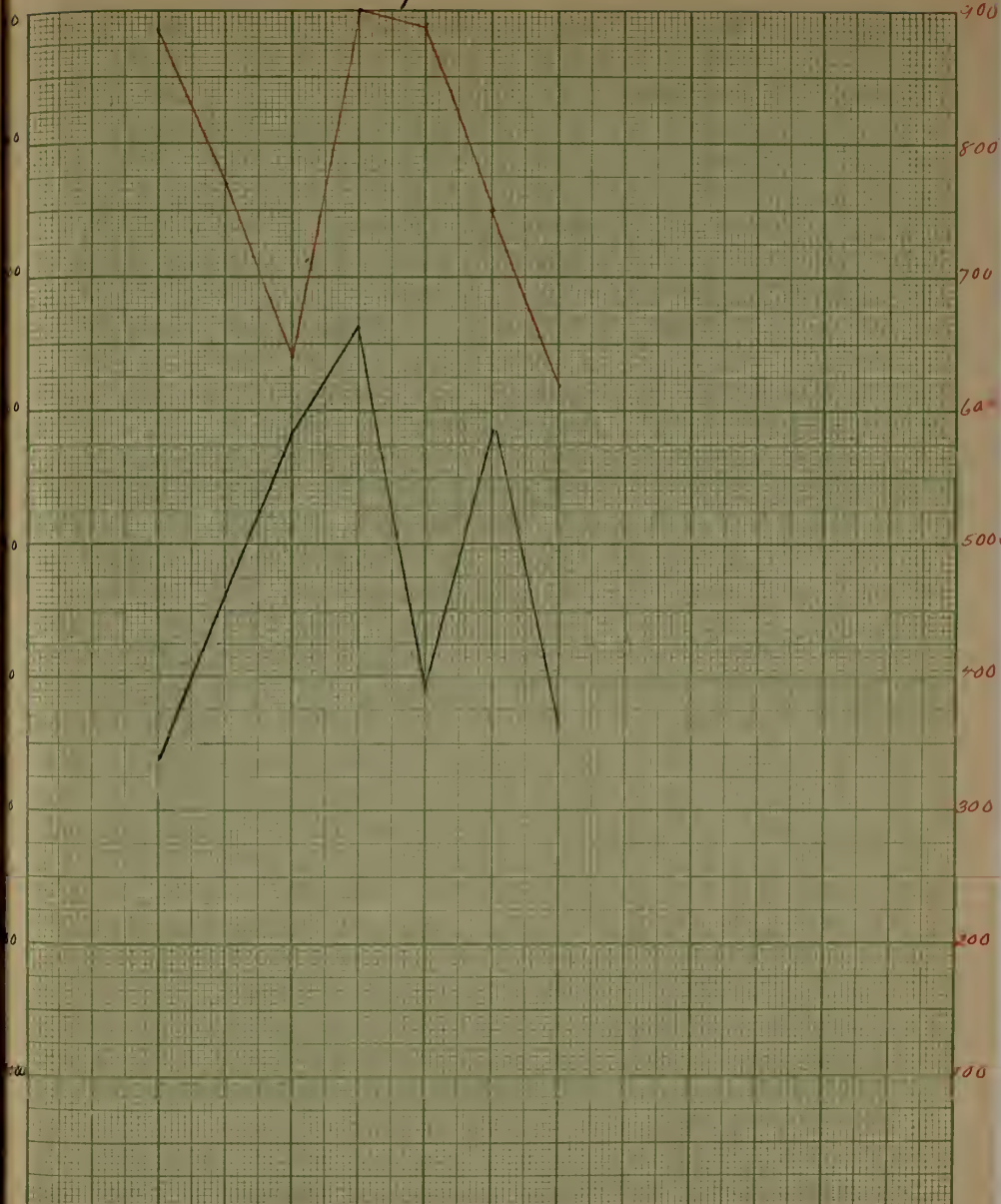


UNIVERSAL CROSS SECTION PAPER

Value 1845 '55 '65 '75 '85 '95 '05 '15
 2,880 4,699 14,699 3,280 2,449 1,351 1,876
 Jan 11,521 7,400 7,042 6,156 5,863 5,296 3,664

HAY

Tons

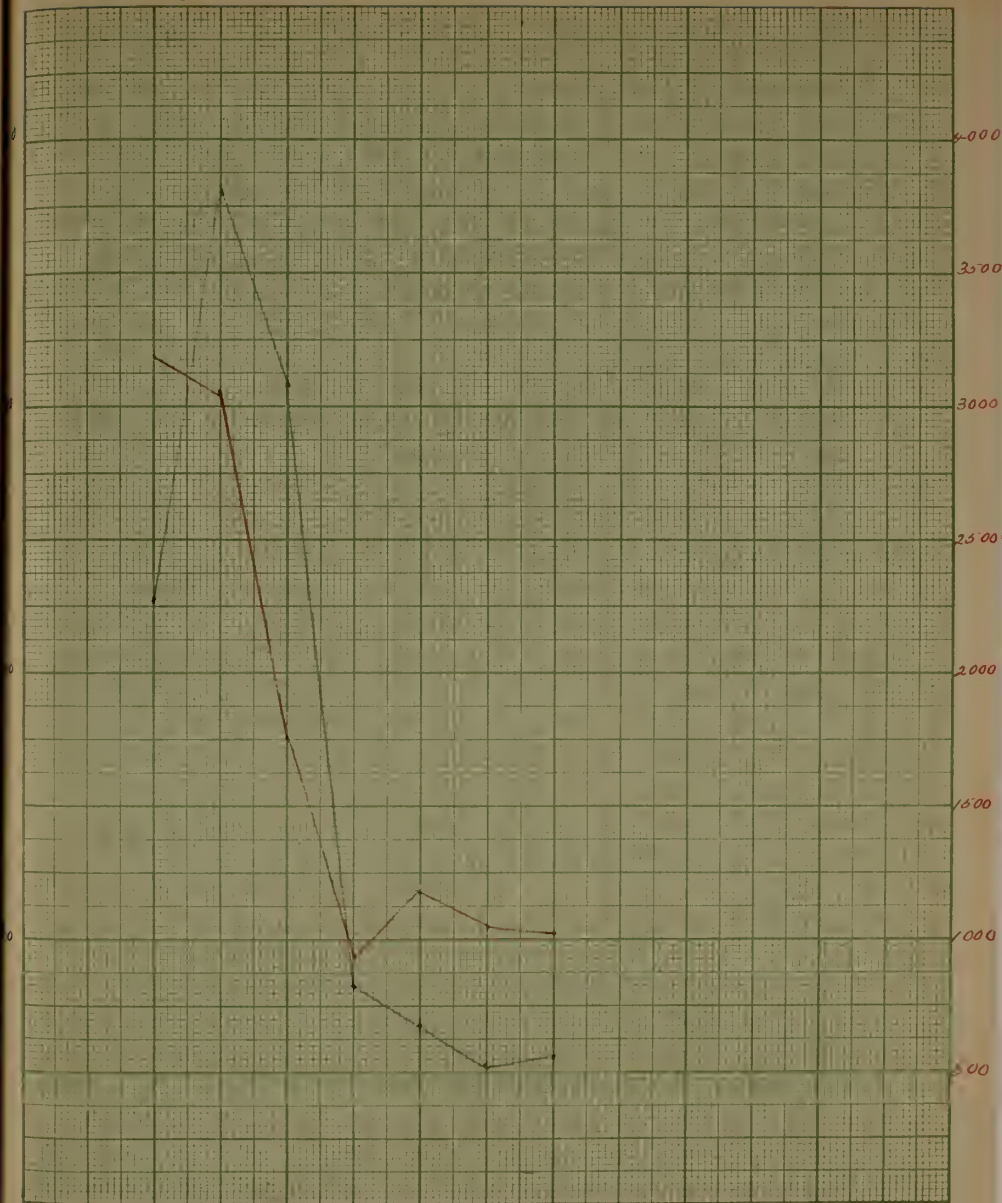


UNIVERSAL CROSS SECTION PAPER

	1845	'55	'65	'75	'85	'95	'05	'15
Value	6,848	9,280	11,538	12,237	7,889	11,671	7,305	
Tons	881	710	641	108	810	700	620	

Plot of I diat C

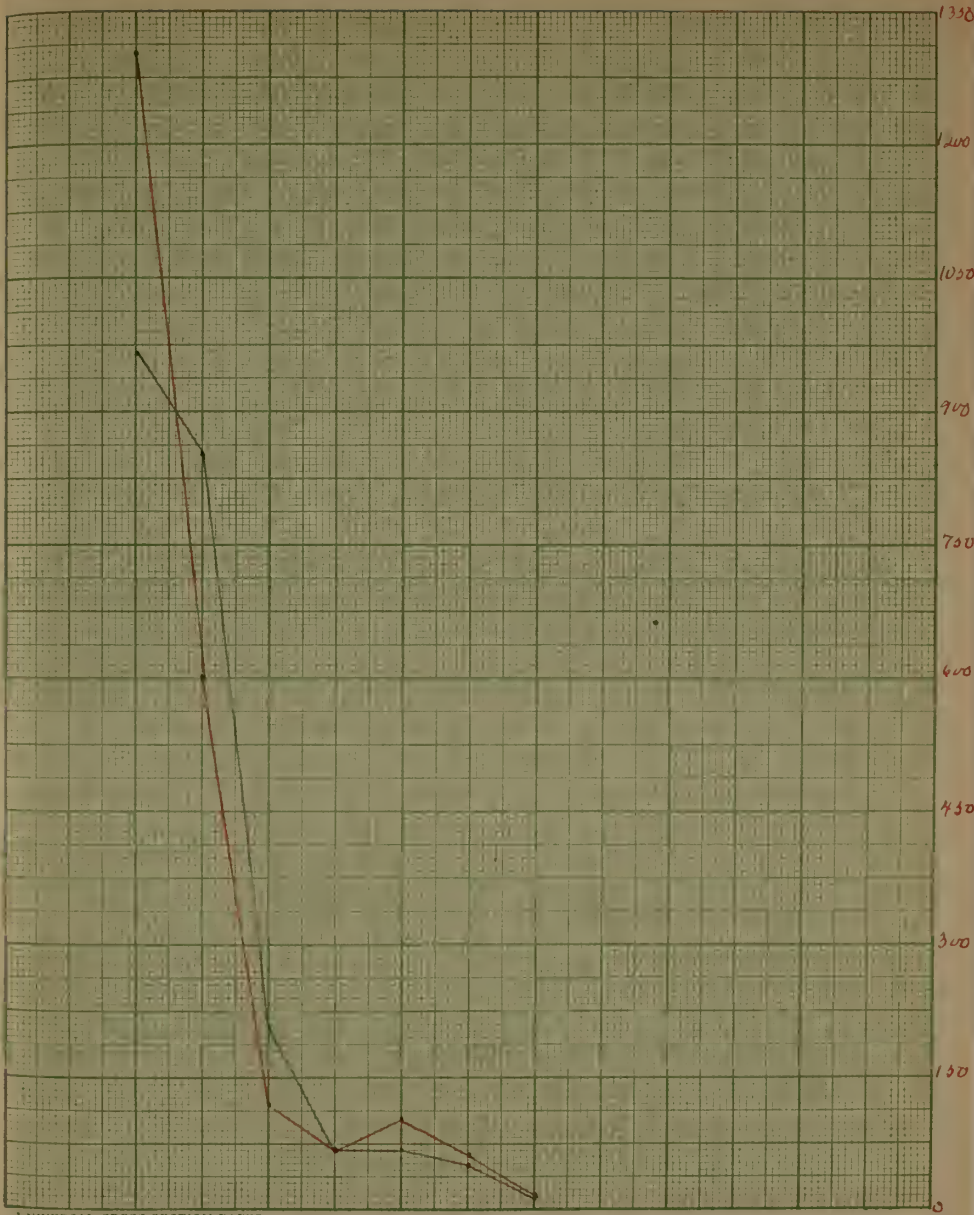
NO. 07 DU.



3.228 - 3.043 - 1.707 - 0.75 - 1.178 - 1.008 - 0.046

Value of Rye

No 55 Bushels of Rye



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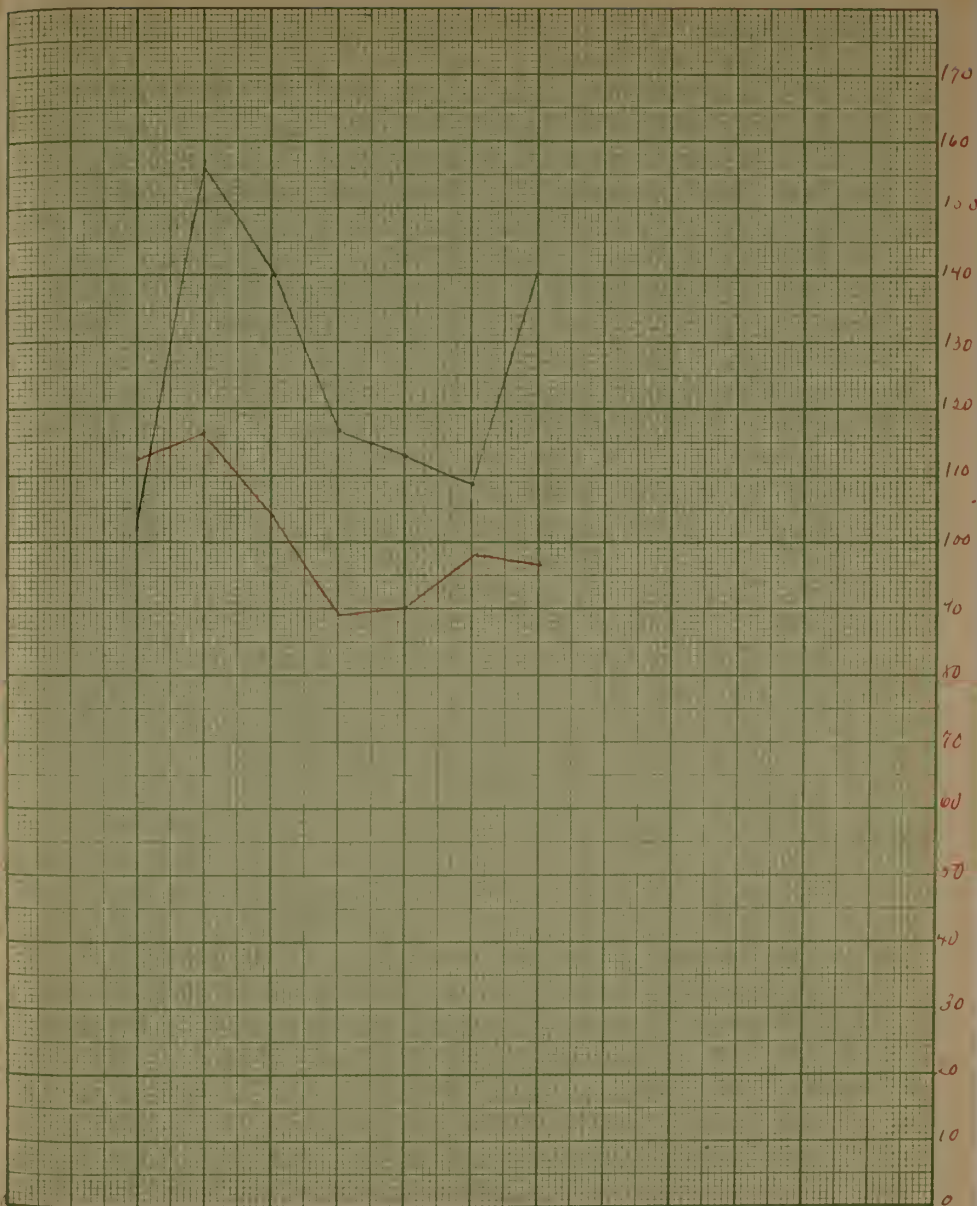
45 55 60 70 80 90 05
 470 840 200.50 71 72 750 8
 1294-630-118-71-42-60-15

Massachusetts Census

of rye

Value of Horses

Number of Horses



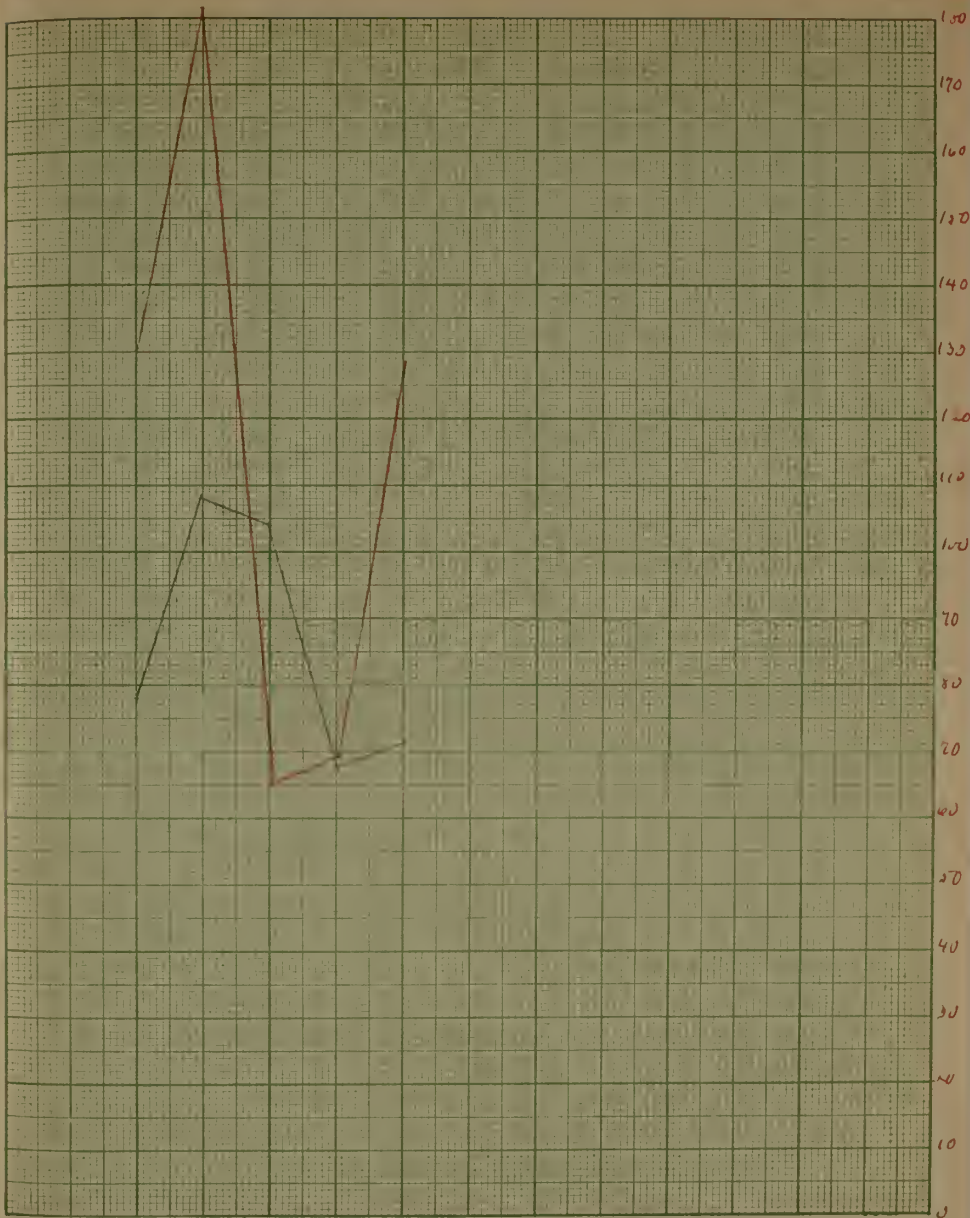
UNIVERSAL CROSS SECTION PAPER

⁴⁵ 115 - ⁵⁵ 7780 - ⁶⁵ 755 - ⁷⁵ 5844 - ⁸⁵ 5070 - ⁹⁵ 541 - ¹⁰⁵ 698
 113 - 116 - 104 - 89 - 90 - 98 - 97

Massachusetts

Value of Swine

Number of Swine.



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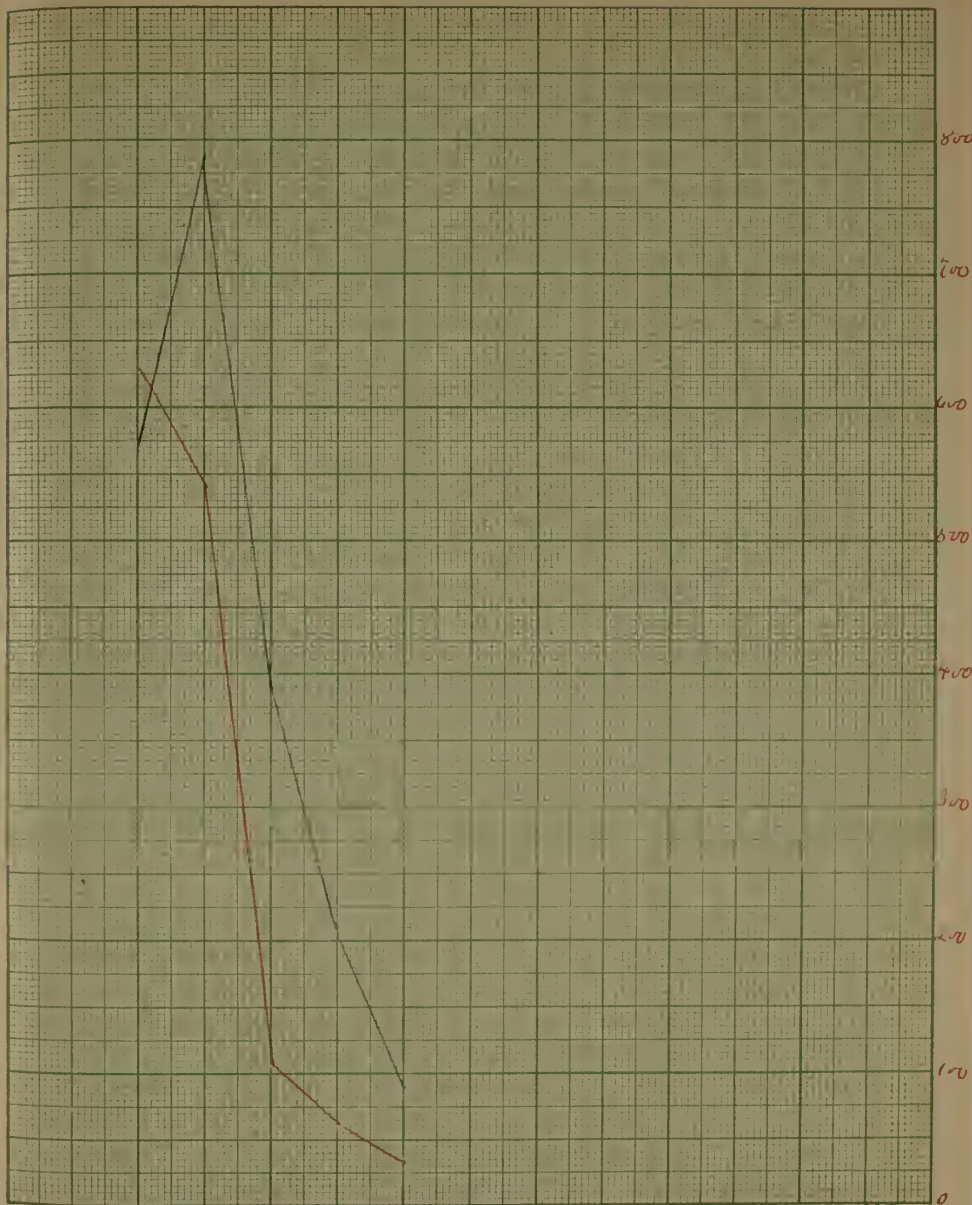
$\begin{matrix} 45 & 55 & 65 & 75 & 85 & 95 & 105 \\ 480 & 111 & 045 & 675 & 74 & 841 \end{matrix}$

131 - 181 - 65 - 69 - 127

Massachusetts Census

Value of New Cattle

No. of New Cattle



UNIVERSAL CROSS SECTION PAPER

11,459 - 13,865 - 7,780 - 9,231 - 1748

630 - 577 - 104 - 64 - 33.

Massachusetts Census

was a nightly occurrence among the guests and considerable debauchery of every description was current.

The hotel received a bad name from the people who lived in the surrounding villages. A great deal of the town's defamation may be traced to this source. During the later years of its history, it became more of a resting place for towns-people than a hostelry for summer guests. Thruout the entire history of the hotel, it has been a place where liquor was illegally sold.

The selectmen of the town in the last years of its existence have several times haled the proprietors into court in their attempt to change the character of the establishment.

In 1897, fire destroyed this hotel. It has not been rebuilt since.

In the northern part of the town, at the foot of Locke's Pond, a hotel has been established since. As shown by the accompanying illustration, the hotel is a good sized house. Of late years, its patronage has not been as large as formerly when the reputation of the hotel partook of a less savory character.

Agriculture.

It has been shown that many of the people of Shutesbury did not rely upon agriculture as the sole means for their support. Lumbering and the fireside industries were almost universal New England customs. These employments were considered as much a part of their industrial life as farming which provided them with food. Altho many of the people in this hill

country got their sustenance by other means than tilling the soil, nevertheless there were about 20 families of the 150 living on farms in 1865 that derived the larger part of their income from the sale of their agricultural products.

The town physiographically may be divided into two parts; the bottom lands and the upland. The bottom lands along the Swift River, brooks and Locke's Pond are composed of the finer portions of the soil washed from the surrounding hills or are the remains of glacial lake deposits.*¹ The hill type soil is composed of water worked morainal drift soil for the most part sandy in character in the subsoil. Both kinds of soil originally contain rocks and boulders as the numerous stone walls attest. Many of the valley farms had wonderfully fertile stretches composed of soils ranging from coarse to fine sandy loam, comparatively free from stone.

A very peculiar and interesting feature of this entire region is the abundance of water in the soil. This fact determined in a large measure the kind of agriculture which has been and can again be practised again on both the hill and valley farms. Springs seem to burst from the hillsides on every hand. This abundance of water accounts for the heavy stands of grass which were cut year after year from these sandy and gravelly farms. The large quantity of grass obtained each year induced the farmers to keep stock. Dairy products, notably cheese, and fat cattle were the leading agricultural products of Shutesbury during this period.

In discussing the decadence of Massachusetts hill communities, great stress is always placed upon the non-productivity

*¹ Emerson, Geology of Old Hampshire County, P.275.

of the soil, the meagreness of the crops, and the general destitution of the people. This attitude for the most part is erroneous as the following facts prove. The cause for the desertion of the towns located similarly to Shutesbury does not lie in the fact that a livelihood could not have been gained from the soil. The difficulty lay in another direction, namely, that the products could not easily be marketed.

On the map of Shutesbury as provided with this thesis, the first two farms lying immediately north of the Pelham line in the Swift River Valley, belonged to two brothers, Harrison and Mixtar Hamilton respectively. These men were descendants of the original settlers. Their ancestors had cleared the land of timber and stones. Part of the latter went into the construction of walls which marked the boundaries of their fertile fields. A large quantity of these stones was used also in ditches to drain the land of its excessive moisture. In fact, there were seventy-farms in the town which possessed stone drains ranging in length from a few rods to a mile.

A gentleman who lived for forty years on a Shutesbury farm and had occasion to visit yearly all the other farms in the vicinity of his own, gives the following testimony concerning the status of agriculture at that time.*1

The Hamilton farm was typical of all the bottom land farms. It comprised 250 acres, 60 of which were tillable and 20 acres of the remainder, when planted to grass were mowed with machines. Annually, the 60 acres mentioned above, provided winter fodder for a maximum of 30 cows, 3 yoke of cattle, 2 horses, 20 hogs, and 60 sheep in addition to the hens, the amount

*1 C. T. Bacon, Amherst, Mass.

of whose feed was not recorded. Eighteen to 20 acres of corn were yearly grown on this farm; 5 to 8 acres of potatoes, also 3 to 4 acres of rye. The hay field would have done credit to modern methods, and high farming. It is estimated that 2½ tons of hay per acre was not an uncommon yield. Butter, cheese, fat cattle and pork formed the principal products. These were carried 18 miles to Ware Village where they were sold to the mill hands.

The fertility of the land was maintained thru the use of barnyard manure and the liberal application of ashes, lime and land plaster. This practice exhibits the fact that knowingly or unknowingly, these two men had chanced upon the accepted solution for assisting in maintaining a fertile soil by applying lime in some form to neutralize the acidity. Tons of land plaster and lime were hauled onto this farm from the villages, on the railroads, principally Athol 20 miles north and Ware 18 miles to the south.

The Hamilton Bros. were never in want for ready cash. They were considered "well-to-do". Today this land is sprout land.

Directly north of the farm just considered was one owned by Henry Winter. This man's progenitors were also among the early settlers. Fortunately for him, they had cleared the land very thoroly. At the time under discussion, Mr. Winter was tilling 30 acres of land in rotation. He usually had from 15 to 20 head of cattle, a pair of steers and 6 hogs. Ten acres of corn were husked and the fodder stored for the cold season. Hay was cut in abundance. Oftentimes it was sold in Ware. He, too, kept up the fertility of the soil by the generous

application of ashes and barnyard manure. A large amount of wood was burned each year, for the purpose of securing the ashes for use as fertilizer.

Mr. Winter's economic position was always good. Furthermore, he was ready at all times to loan money to those less fortunate.

Continuing up the Valley, the same condition of soil and agricultural practice obtained.

It has been shown that the bottom land farms were capable of providing a good living for the farmer. In several instances, these farms even permitted their owners an accumulation of wealth.

Not only did the bottom lands produce abundantly but the farms on the hill top were close rivals in this respect. The old Stetson farm, later known as the Deacon Briggs' Place was known for miles around as the most productive farm in the town. For many years, 20 cows, 2 yoke of cattle, 2 horses, 18 hogs and 50 sheep were fed yearly from this farm. Fifty acres of land were tillable, 80 acres were in pasture, Deacon Briggs used ashes extensively on his tillable land and not infrequently just before a rain, he would spread a light coat on the more fertile portions of his pasture. With the presence of all the needed water and the continued supply of lime together with the minerals from the wood ashes, the soil was kept in a high state of cultivation. At the present writing, this same farm is incapable of supporting 5 cows, a yoke of oxen and one horse.

Grain and feed are continually purchased. On the field which once produced 50 bu. of corn to the acre and cut 2 tons of hay per acre, the moss is now growing to a depth of 2 inches. Wood ashes cannot be obtained and the people have forgotten the precedent established by the Hamilton Bros. of purchasing lime or land plaster to take the place of the lime found in woodashes.

The raising of cattle as work animals and for beef which was principally sold locally constituted a large part of the town's agricultural industry. According to the census of 1845, 800 neat cattle gained their sustenance from the meadows and pastures of this community. On a road 2 miles long now covered with brush and on which today there is not a single house, 40 yoke of cattle were once hitched in a single team as they were gathered from house to house when wallowing out the roads in winter.

Illustrations might be given of both hill and valley farms which show unmistakably that agriculture among the hills was not an impossibility.

The Dudley Place in the north western section of the town had 40 acres of tillable land on which feed for 15 cows was raised.

The Stowells, on the North Road, built from the profits of their agricultural labors, a house, pretentious for that day. Even now it would be valued at \$10,000 if situated in a large center.

In the south western portion of the town, there is a farm of 80 acres of tillable land which is still in operation. It is the only farm in the entire community which exhibits the old-time fertility of the strong New England soil.

It would not be difficult to describe many more farms which gave to their owners a comfortable living. Mr. LePlante and his family in the south-eastern section of the town, which is considered to be the poorest agriculturally, lived principally from the proceeds of their agricultural efforts. Not only were they able to make a living but were also able to provide sustenance for a family of 20 children; 12 of whom lived to be of assistance to their parents. Mr. LePlante derived a considerable portion of his income from the fees received from the service of a stallion and the sale of his colts.

The fame of one of his colts had gone abroad. The story is told that this colt was sold in the valley for \$800 and later resold for \$5,000. The latter figure cannot be verified. The original purchase price is corroborated by several people, 15 cattle and 8 horses have been kept on this hill farm of 30 tillable acres. The LePlantes were not the only couple who could raise large families from the proceeds of this discredited hill soil.

Alonzo Reed likewise supported a family of 10 children from the returns of his produce.

Agriculture, since 1840, has been called, in all publications, the leading industry of the town. During the period of the more prosperous agriculture, the town itself was never the center to which produce was hauled. The people of the south-east

district took their butter, eggs and beef to Ware willage, 18 miles from the town. Nearly all of their purchases were also made at that place. The north-end farmers sold their produce in Athol, 11 miles distant, Orange 8 miles, and to Montague, 12 miles away. A stage ran between Shutesbury and Montague daily which carried a large proportion of the butter and eggs to market from this section. The farmers in the west, south and Pratts' Corner went to Amherst, 7 miles distant, to trade and to dispose of their products.

Only the staples of the agricultural industry were produced. Farming never grew to such proportions that a whole-sale market was sought, excepting for apples and blueberries. Buyers came usually from Ware or from Northampton for these commodities. The individuals carted their respective products to market. Wood, eggs, butter, fowl, and potatoes were the principal products sold.

The census for 1845 shows that Shutesbury was like many other hill communities in the nature of its occupations and agriculture as may be seen from the following table:-

	<u>Income</u>	<u>from</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>of</u>
	<u>Mats.</u>	<u>Boots.</u>	<u>Cattle.</u>	<u>Sheep.</u>
Cummington		\$2,270.		4,178
Rowe	\$900.		876	2,010
Pelham	\$7,193.	2,615.	615	350
Shelburne	1,984.	2,500.	1,443	3,134

The following graphs strikingly set forth the rapidity of Shutesbury's industrial decline.

Religion.

Religion has and does furnish the highest standard of moral ideals, and is a potent instrument of social control. On account of the powerful reinforcement which religion gives to custom and other forms of social habit, it has been one of the main factors in producing an immobile or static society.^{*1} This conservative tendency of religious influence has been as dominant in this community as in any other. The churches never took the initiative in social reform or community betterment.

The Baptist and Congregational churches stood side by side upon the village common. Both, for sixty years, had been fighting against inevitable disorganization and decline which have overtaken so many rural churches.

The power of custom^{*2} and formality held their organization together for a longer time than the economic standard of any but a rural community would have warranted. Their communicants were for the most part men and women of undisputed rural integrity, honor and sincerity. There were, on the other hand, a few who manifested an outward appearance of goodness and an inward departure from virtue. All abhorred the thought that their community should be without a church. Sacrifices of labor, money and time were endured to preserve their symbol of a belief in a higher life.

The attendance at church was, in many individuals, as much a matter of custom as was their religious feelings. Their forefathers had liberally supported the church; they too believed it the stand to take before the world and their community.

The Baptist Church, from 1870 to 1890, had about fifteen members with from twenty-five to thirty usually attending service.

*1 Elwood, Sociology in its Psychological Aspects. P.274.

*2 Summer Folkways, Chap. 1

Since its inception, this church has always had a settled pastor, but unfortunately, like many other rural communities, it received the last offices of old and service-scarred pastors whose youthful, vigorous days had been spent in other fields. These isolated pastures were the rewards for their long and faithful services. In this town, the decline of the community and the aging of its minister went on together.

The ideal of community service for church and pastor had not been entertained as part of the ecclesiastical service. This church has always been the weaker of the two denominations in point of size of membership, accomplishment, and influence.

The Congregationalist Church did not have a settled pastor after the year 1875. The preaching was supplied by students coming from Amherst College. Much regret is still expressed because it seemed financially necessary that the parish must be saved by young men, sometimes more interesting in receiving ten dollars for their weekly dissertation than for interest in serving the needs of the community. Many different types of young men supplied the pulpit. As an example of one who had candidate for the position, the following incident is quoted; after delivering a sermon which he had believed to be just above the intellects of those present, he commented to a good, old, quiet deacon, "You people may have thought by my actions that I am proud, but I am only educated." The chagrined deacon shortly afterwards remarked that he did not believe that the young man would do for the place.

The church never felt the impulse of youthful vitality, for none of the young men felt themselves called upon to do more than to preach and to make a few calls.

The Congregational church, during this period, had twenty-seven members. Two services were held each Sunday.

In both of the churches, there was a more primitive piety than was found in most cities. This piety took three forms - mystical experience, some of which are prevalent today; the ethical application in personal life; and the revival interest. Comparative leisure and solitude favored the musing in which mysticism thrived. The absence of great social problems permitted the concentration of moral effort upon individual relations, and partly thru the influence of tradition, less disturbed in the country, and partly in consequence of this mystical bent, it was possible to get quite a circle of believers to pray and to work for the conversion of souls.

For two reasons the Congregational church had been a greater influence in the community than had the Baptist. The younger ministers, without doubt, attracted the younger people of the community to the Congregational church, and second, the wealthiest member of the community attended this church. Altho he was not a member, he regularly and largely contributed to the minister's salary. Often a deficit for particular requirements was made up by this man. In the latter days of his life, he hired all the ministers for this church.

The younger element in the church really created most of the social life in the town. Plays, farces, entertainments were regularly given by them. Most of the social life of the town centered about this church. All the town-meeting dinners were regularly served by the women of the Congregational church. Church festivals, attended by over one hundred, filled the little church often to overflowing. This church was a decidedly important town institution at this time.

The little hall, until recently known as Crossman Hall, was formerly known as the Congregational church. It seated one hundred and twenty people, and was adequate for all ordinary religious purposes. Only at times of unusual attendance, such as Christmas or entertainments, was the church too small to hold all of the Congregation.

For five years prior to 1871, the salesman of the products of the pen-shop became obsessed with the idea that the Congregationalists should have a newer, larger and more imposing structure. There is but little doubt that imitation worked strongly in this man.*¹In his travels about the country, he had seen churches which he admired. He consequently believed and hoped that his town might have something as conspicuous as those he had visited. The idea, however, was not received kindly by some of the older members of the society. This did not dampen the ardor of the originator of the idea, nor many of the younger members of the church, who had caught the spirit of imitation from him and who were glad to have something to work for. Collections were taken, entertainments given, suppers served, all with a

*¹ McDougal, P. 224.

view to securing sufficient money to begin the undertaking. After many difficulties and setbacks, both pecuniary and thru lack of interest, he finally secured sufficient money to commence building. After the structure had been partially completed, friction arose between the members of the church and the originator of the plan for having a new church. With all the assurance of one who has always had his own way, he told the building committee that if he could not have his way in regard to the size and structure that he would have nothing more to do with the project.*¹ The consequence was that the auditorium of the church never was finished. The church never was dedicated. Services, in the edifice, were held on the ground floor. The structure was built so flimsily that when the sharp north and the west winds blew across the hill, the huge barn-like church would rock and sway in the wind. Iron brace bars were run from side to side to partially prevent the racking. Thru some incompetency, mortar for the plaster was incorrectly mixed. In a very short time, the plaster began to sift from the ceiling and walls until the bare floor grew white with the falling particles of plaster. Shortly, large patches of ceiling began to fall until the interior presented a very dilapidated appearance. The interested people were constantly making futile efforts to finish the auditorium but never succeeded due to lack of finances and mutual endeavor.

The unfinished edifice became in time an exasperation to those who felt the onus of the situation. One good woman often said, "I pray the Lord will strike it by lightning and get it out of my sight." When lightning did finally destroy the building in

*¹ McDougal, Instinct of Self-Assertion, P. 62-66.

1910, she laughingly but somewhat seriously had misgivings as to her power of prayer. The Congregational church then combined with the Baptists holding union services each Sunday in the Baptist church. This arrangement continues to the present time.

The two churches were distinct moral agents, altho their efficiency was greatly lessened thru the lack of vital social principles of community progress. The control which religion exercised over the community was not visible in the marked increased morality in the delinquents of the town, but exercised a restraining influence upon individual action, because it established a standard of moral ideals.

The sectarian feeling between the churches never was bitter, altho at the time of the building of the new Congregational church, there was considerable group rivalry*¹ exhibited between the two religious societies. This rivalry resulted in increased activity in both organizations for a short time. The Baptists spent about \$200. for church repairs, acting without doubt because they wished to emulate the activities of the other denomination. One member only of the Congregationalist Church refused to enter the Baptist Church, and only three Baptists would not meet with the Congregationalists.

Many union services were held during all the history of the churches. At Christmas, Decoration Day, church entertainments, or for farewell sermons in either church, the congregations would meet together.

The community was so small that daily secular contact was almost inevitable between the members of both churches. The

*1 Ellwood, Page 190.

same environment and the same ideals tended to lessen religious group conflict which might have arisen had the community been larger. Group segregation can be permanent only where like-mindedness is impossible.*1

Up to 1892, five Universalist families held Sunday afternoon services in the Congregational church. No strong doctrinal feeling was ever expressed by the members of this group. The preaching of the liberal gospel in the Congregational church had no lasting effect upon the lives of the people or the community's affairs. The meetings ceased in Shutesbury when the Universalists in Amherst affiliated with the Unitarians. A slight sentiment against permitting the Universalists to use the Congregational church was expressed in the statement to the effect that "if old Grandfather Briggs were alive, a Universalist would never speak in that church."

The interest in revivals did not escape this community. The first revival in the memory of the present generation was inaugurated by the Baptist Church in 1868. Verbal pictures of the eternal torments which awaited the unconverted made a vivid, emotional impression especially upon the young. Their youthful imaginative minds were engrossed with the seeming realities of a yawning hell for them unless they came to Jesus, and were saved. Shepardson and Tower from Petersham were the preachers. Not a few converts were made for the Baptist denomination.

All prayer meetings were held in homes of the members of either the Baptist or Congregational Church. At one such meeting, two young ladies who had been angry for a long time, became reconciled.

*1 Ellwood, Soc. in Psy. Aspects, P. 362.

The Crusaders, composed of a Major Parks and his wife, held two weeks of revival meetings in the Congregational Church in 1887. Their efforts were attended with much temporary and some lasting success. Often there were 100 attending the meetings. The same highly emotional enthusiasm was aroused that attends all orthodox revivals.

Many of the present inhabitants of the town were converted at this time. During the two weeks, 16 people joined the Congregational Church, three of the converts wishing to be baptized by immersion. A large party drove to Locke's Pond where the ceremony took place. A peculiar thing about this incident is the fact that the most conspicuous of this little group is now one of the "hard" characters of the town.

The influence of the revivals was on the whole good. A Catholic woman had been married to a Protestant. She was urged to become converted and said that she would, but didn't know exactly how she ought to feel while experiencing the conversion.

Family prayers in many homes were instituted and practiced for quite a period after this exposition of the Christian's duty.

The town's worst character, somewhat intoxicated attended, a meeting one evening. His cousin had recently died without being converted. After a rambling, half-intelligible harangue, it was gleaned from his remarks that he wanted to know if his cousin could be saved. No direct reply was forthcoming from the Crusaders, except by the singing of the old revival song by Mrs. Parks, some of the words of which follow: "There is no redemption beyond the cold walls of the grave." The hint

was taken and no more was seen of the petitioner.

In 1892, a week of religious meetings was held by ministers from various surrounding towns. Nothing was accomplished which is visible today.

The effect of religion was to sustain Christian ideals in the community. It fostered a social consciousness which preserved the integrity of moral and Christian virtues. It opened up to the people a path which if patiently trod would lead to peace and happiness here and hereafter.

Morality.

Like religion, morality goes to the inmost motives and secures social order by influencing character and controlling conduct at their source. Without loyalty, honesty, veracity, and justice in society, there is no possibility of maintaining anything more than the shabbiest semblance of social order.

A stable and harmonious social order cannot exist without high ideals in individuals. Personal moral character is therefore in a certain sense the foundation of all social order.

The character of the townspeople of Shutesbury has for a long time been made the mark at which critical arrows of condemnation have been aimed by people not living there. Shutesbury differs in no wise from other communities all of which harbor within their precincts both good people and bad. The moral status of the town as a whole has never appeared to worse advantage than it has in other New England districts.

There was a social group in the town which tended to give the entire community an unsavory reputation. The Pratt

group composed of 8 families descended from Ephriam Pratt who lived to be 116 years of age. On his tombstone one can read that he was "Cheerful in his disposition and temperate in his habits." On Page 359 of T. Dwight's Travels, Vol. II, an account is given of a visit in 1806, which he made to Ephriam Pratt. The following is quoted from that account: - "He is naturally cheerful and humorous; apparently unsusceptible of tender emotions and not much inclined to serious thinking. According to an account which he gave his host, he made a public confession of religion nearly 70 years before our visit to him; but was not supposed by him nor by others acquainted with him to be a religious man. It is scarcely necessary to observe that a man 116 years old without religion was a melancholy sight to me."

Of Ephriam Pratt's descendants, however, it could not be said that as a whole they were either cheerful or temperate. On the contrary, they were constantly quarrelling amongst themselves, and with outsiders upon the slightest provocation.*1 For example, upon one occasion, the remark was made by a member of this family that his horse was superior to the one his brother owned. At once a rough and tumble fight ensued between the two brothers. The result was that both were hauled into the Greenfield Court where they were warned to keep the peace.

It is evident that ~~this~~ group ~~were~~^{are} never influenced either thru heredity or environment by any religious or ethical ideals which make for right living. No person possessing ideals would marry into such a low social stratum. Hence, as a rule, shiftless and worthless progeny succeeded shiftless and worthless

*1 McDougal, Page 288.

progenitors. The few descendants from this stock who displayed any of the common virtues, moved away, leaving the ambitionless to form a clan. Consequently, the group, thru the process of natural selection, continually deteriorated. The marrying with outsiders which did take place, was with those from nearby rural communities who were as degenerate as they themselves. This fact also tended to keep the standard of living on a low level. Altho "characters" were abundant, cases of insanity and idiocy resulting from too close intermarriage were of rare occurrence.

Social.

From 1840 on, the people of Shutesbury thought of their town as being divided into seven school districts. These divisions originated in the minds of the inhabitants upon a physiological basis, due to the topographical features of the township. There were, also, some psychological differences between these groups, due to physical environment and traits of heredity.

The Center, so-called, that portion of the town situated on the hilltop, comprised the churches, the hotels, the store, the places of business, the homes of the people who owned or had owned small manufacturing industries. The west portion of the town was socially controlled by a group of people mainly springing from one family who was considered lawless, immoral, and detrimental to the best interests of the community. Most of the viciousness and ill-repute attributed to the community as a whole may be traced to this social group. Pratt's Corner, in the extreme southwest portion of the town, is separated from the Kimball or south-central district by a series of hills. Pratt's

Corner was in fact almost a community of interest within itself due to location apart from the remainder of the town. Saw-milling in the spring, a small manufactory for rakes and farming were the chief occupations of this group. The Kimball district is separated from the districts on its east and west borders by a series of hills along each of which runs a road. The enclosed section was occupied by a group of people whose farms were fairly representative of a prosperous agriculture and whose group life was of a very intimate character. Three saw-mills were also situated in this district. The southeast section of the town lies in the Swift River Valley. Fertile valley farms produced abundant crops. The psychological effect of its economic superiority was evident in the influence of this group upon town affairs. North of the churches and the main road lived the Watermans together with several other family groups. In character, this portion of the town partook of the unsavory variety of the west section due to the same looseness of morals and the constant use of cider-brandy which was distilled at Montague, Orange, and Athol. About Locke's Pond in the extreme north of the township, another little settlement of people farmed the fertile soil of the lake basin region. A wagon-shop and saw-mill furnished some employment for the members of this group.

These seven groups composed a society characteristic of the rural New England life of from forty to fifty years ago.

Each group was composed of members who displayed the same traits which are characteristic of the New Englander thruout all time. Every descendant of the Pilgrim fathers, displays to some extent the same deep-rooted sense of duty and willingness to

work which preserved their progenitors from starvation nearly three centuries ago.

The New Englander of today is the result of the effect of environment on his Pilgrim forbears. No "lily-fingered gentlemen" landed on the "stern and rock-bound Massachusetts coast". Only those "inured to labor from their youth up" were permitted to come, hard-working English yeomen, mechanics and cloth-weavers. Moral courage and the willingness to toil unremittingly were the invariable qualifications of those who crossed the Atlantic in 1620. There was no room on board ship for idlers. Hard work was a daily necessity after the wanderers had reached their new home. Toil unceasing they realized was all that stood between them and starvation. Their only distraction from hard work was hard thinking. There was no life except such as strengthened the already stern ideals. The elimination of the enjoyable sides of existence was carried to the farthest extreme.

Societies which progress are marked by intergroup and intragroup competition and conflict. A rivalry stimulated by the production of crops in excess of those of a neighbor, the acquisition of money or the group rivalry for religious or aesthetic improvement, are signs of a community consciousness, and react to create, in the larger community life, social unities. On the other hand, in all the activities in which individuals or groups are dependent upon each other for mutual advancement, they cannot work together without some degree of mutual confidence and trust.*1

The social coordinations in the town were developed to a much higher degree formerly than at present.

*1 Ellwood, Page 158.

In 1890, the community organized a Village Improvement Society. This society was the only social organization in which all the members of the town were at all interested. The distinctive work carried thru by this society was the renovating of the common and the introduction of street lights. Four members of the community contributed their horses and time, for the purpose of plowing the common. After a social at the church one afternoon, everyone nearby "picked stone" off the plowed and harrowed ground. A crop of potatoes was planted on the old sod land in order to get it mellow for reseeding. The potatoes were hoed and cultivated by anyone who cared to contribute their services. Strangely enough, they are said to have been well taken care of. Several times the men who usually sat around the tavern and store spent an evening hoeing out the potatoes. Unfortunately this bit of community enterprise was short lived, due to the general decline and lack of community stimulus thru rivalry and community progress.

Professor Sumner, in his book "Folkway", P. 89, has given this name to the regular modes of social activity in any group of people. A better term might be "social habits" since these regular modes of social activity are not by any means confined to the larger groups which are termed a folk or people, but are found in the smallest groups of society as well.

Many folkways in small communities like Shutesbury developed thru the psychical processes as well as economic necessity. They remained as a social habit after the necessity for that particular custom had passed. Funeral customs exhibited

several instincts. The people of the countryside for miles about the home of the deceased attended the funeral. Many of these people knew the departed only slightly, some not at all. Yet a funeral was almost a public function, an event in which relatives, neighbors, friends, and even strangers met. The gregarious instinct showed strongly in a people whose contact with society was but slight and infrequent. This desire for human association found satisfaction in these large gatherings. At no regular event did such numbers come together as were to be found at funerals. The fear of death was still a very vivid reality. Ministers preached and prayed of the terrors of the hereafter and perhaps unconsciously, as in the savage, the people again paid their respects to the departed who might still have some supernatural terrestrial influence.

The role of sympathy*¹ played a part in the funeral customs of that time. The near neighbors of the family of the deceased unfailingly spent the time prior to the funeral cleaning, washing, baking and setting the house to rights, relieving the entire family of all household duties. Many hours of hard, laborious housework preceded these events, for anyone who came from a distance expected to be fed, not merely a lunch but a good substantial meal. Sometimes the travelers were obliged to remain over night, and accommodations also must be provided.

Before the time of communication by mail, telephone or automobile, the news of the death was delivered to the family and relatives of the deceased by personal messengers. Members of the community volunteered to drive any distance, eighteen to

*¹ Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, P. 106 ff.

twenty miles in some instances, to inform relatives that the funeral would be at a stated time and place. This custom was kept up years after mail and telegraph facilities would have relieved the community of this obligation. Every death, at the hour of the funeral, was announced by the ringing of the village bell which hung in the Baptist Church steeple.

The age of the deceased was slowly and solemnly tolled. This social custom prevailed until very recently. At the present time, even, the community passes upon the following article in the town warrant: - "To see if the town will vote to pay for the ringing of the bell during the ensuing year." The regular duties of the bell-ringer now consist in ringing the bell each Sunday, for regular town-meetings, and for fires should he ever happen to be in the vicinity of the church when the fires occur. For this service, twelve dollars per year are now paid.

Christenings and child-birth customs are still prevalent in nearly all societies. "Wetting the baby's head" was a curious term given to the ceremony accompanying the celebration of the birth of a child. In this community, the term did not imply the obvious in the statement as it particularly did among the Irish. However, a great many quarts of gin and cider-brandy were consumed by the male members of the community in wishing the baby "health, wealth and prosperity, that it's shadow never would grow less, and that it's hair would grow as big as a broom-handle." The custom originated in the belief that the child's head must be sprinkled in order that it's hair might grow. Every man was expected to take a "little nipper" in honor of the new-born babe.

Weddings usually occurred at home, but sometimes were solemnized after the Sunday morning service. The homes and the churches were tastefully decorated with the natural wild flowers and conifers at nearly every wedding. Horse play of the usual rural type was rife after the ceremony. House-warmings and serenades for the bride and groom were a customary feature for nearly all newly-married couples. Simple cake and refreshments for the women were provided, while the men of course had the inevitable cider-brandy pitcher centrally situated. There was but little drunkenness connected with the custom, altho at times some of the participants became a little too boisterously joyful.

Government and Law.

Human societies enter upon definite conscious policies of self-control and some of the most important institutions of human society are devoted to developing and perfecting means of social control. These may be called regulative institutions of society. Chief among these are religion, education, law and government.

The governing agencies in small towns are trivial in actual importance, but in the minds of the members of the group, they constitute a very vital and absorbing function. The selection of the town officers for the ensuing year, even to the obsolete position of poundkeeper is often performed with more seriousness than are transactions involving millions of dollars or human lives in larger group centers. The ponderous required forms of legal procedure in many cases adds to the apparent seriousness of the situation in these small villages.

Town-business and the influence of the town officers upon social life in Shutesbury has been somewhat marked. For nearly 25 years, the offices of town-clerk and treasurer were held by two men. As a striking illustration of the inherent honesty of these old settlers, it may be cited that in all that period there never was cause for suspicion in the handling of the town business or money. It may be said, however, that the town-clerk was the wealthiest man in the township, and the people believed the town's financial affairs to be perfectly secure in his hands.

The community's governmental affairs had always been administered by the best men which the town afforded, until very recent times when a transition period occurred after the death of the older order of men. Nothing of great nor special importance has transpired in the town to develop administrative ability among the men. Care of the paupers and the settling for forest fires were the two ~~items~~ which required the most attention and ability in adjusting.

Notwithstanding the paucity of town business, the very fact that these men were town officers placed them in a social group which was considered to be somewhat superior to the remainder of the community. It was not only because these men held town offices but because they were also the most influential business men that they received this deference.

There were obviously three social groups in the community, two of which never mingled with the third, and the second meeting the third at church, town-meeting or some public function. The first group ^{were the} ~~were~~ the members of the recalcitrant families of

the west section and those about Waterman Hill. The second or middle class was composed of the average and the majority of the people of the community. The third or socially elite were the town officers and well-to-do farmers or mill owners. People of the second group rarely made social calls upon the families composing this third group. This stratifying of the community did not produce, however, a marked group individuality nor group will. Group will and group individuality are the outcome of the acting together of the individuals within the group in certain definite ways and for definite purposes. This social stratification resulted in no positive progress other than a sentiment against the backsliding element of the community. Nothing in the town warrants for years showed the slightest deviation from the necessary routine business which would indicate concerted action for the town's industrial, economic, or social advancement.

Causes for the Decline.

Until the year 1820, the hill and valley towns of western Massachusetts did not vary greatly in the character of their industries or in the standards of living.*¹ Agriculture was the basic economic activity in all localities, with small manufacturing plants contributing a share to the wealth of each community.*²

In western Massachusetts, the fertile meadows of the Connecticut and Housatonic Rivers were the first to be preempted by the early settlers*³. When this free land had been entirely

*¹ Jesse Chickering. A Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1840.

*² Census of Mass., 1837 to 1855.

*³ History of the Connecticut River Valley, P. 562.

taken up, the oncoming civilization reached to the hill-tops. There was found smoother land than the hillsides afforded; there was enjoyed more security from Indian attacks.

During the early settlement days, each farm was operated with the view to supplying the entire range of family needs. It was an independent unit. It grew the wheat, rye and corn which were made into bread and hominy. Each farm had its beef "critters" and hogs to afford the family its meat supply and the hillside pastures fed the sheep which supplied the family with wool for clothing and flesh for meat.

During this period of the country's history, excepting for the greater ease in working the valley soils, it made little difference socially, to the people where they lived. The opportunities for peace and contentment were as great on the hills as in the valleys for each family and village lived like every other family and village.

With the coming of the railroads thru the low-lying districts between the years 1820-1840, together with the subsequent rise of manufacturing in railroad centers, there soon developed a marked economic and social difference between those villages near the railroad and the hill communities.

Naturally, the railroad followed the level meadow of the river valleys*¹ and those sections of the country now have the double advantage of good soil and railroad shipping privileges. These railways soon changed the character of the agriculture in the towns thru which they passed. Self-sufficing agriculture

*¹ Frederick H. Fowler in Bailey's Encyclopedia of American Agriculture, Vol. IV, P. 102-106.

quickly gave place to an agriculture designed for exporting to nearby villages and manufacturing centers. Specialized produce took the place of diversified farming. These specialized crops were exchanged for money with which to purchase the numerous indispensable articles for every-day life, not grown on the farms of late years.

The hill communities lying a distance from the rail-ways were not immediately affected by the change in the character of agricultural practice in the river valleys.*¹ It was not long, however, before the change in styles of clothing, kitchen utensils and home luxuries which the rapidly increasing inventions had made possible, was felt by the people thruout the country.*²

The hill-folk were confronted with a serious dilemma. Money had to be raised in order to live. Two courses were open to them. That they might increase their farm's production was the first alternative. This did not seem possible for them to do under the methods of agriculture then known, for the heritage of the self-sufficing manner of farming was still dominant in their minds. The other possibility open to them lay in supplementing their incomes by engaging in some one of those pursuits described as the household industries, such as braiding, shoe-making, weaving, pocket-book and basket making. Aided by the sale of timber from their woodlots, the people were able in some degree to meet the demands of the new standard of living.

*¹ Hon. Benj. Butler, Country Gentleman, Nov. 2, 1872.

*² Walter Prichard Eaton, Am. Magazine, Aug., 1911.

By 1855, the rapid strides made in the invention of labor-saving machinery, together with the centering of trade and manufacture along the railway and large waterpower lines, eliminated these home industries.

The invention of machine-turned shoe lasts and modern shoe making machinery, took the boot and shoe business out of the class of hard labor. Large shoe shops sprang up in the vicinity of railroad centers and in the large cities, where transportation and power facilities rendered the use of machinery both possible and profitable. All thru New England, small establishments manufacturing cutlery, buttons, underwear, etc. whose mills were located on small streams in the hill country gradually found that they could not compete with the larger and more economically conducted, big business of large trade and railroad centers.

Mute relics of these former small hill industries may yet be seen in the decaying skeletons of former buildings and in the remains of old stone dams of the remote hill country.*1 With the rise of corporate business, household arts and industries disappeared in the rural sections.*2

The people realized that they could no longer compete with larger manufacturers. This fact again produced a crisis in the life of this hill community. There seemed to be nothing left for them but to rely entirely upon their agriculture and lumbering as their sole means of support.

* 1 Monterey, Mass., Sandisfield, Tyringham, Mass.

* 2 Myron Herrick, Rural Credits, P. 252.

While the industrial changes in the manufacturing world were going on, there were many farmers in the east who recognized that they must adjust their methods of agriculture to meet the changing conditions. They consequently tried several expedients. The agricultural history of many New England towns plainly shows these attempts at adjustment. Wheat and cattle were raised on the river meadows. In the hill communities, sheep and cattle raising were the main sources of the agricultural revenues.^{*1,2} These industries were fairly under way when the opening of the western free lands prior to the Civil War, led to the raising of wheat, corn and cattle on such a large and economical scale that the east again found itself deprived of an agricultural industry worthy of supporting an increasingly high standard of living.

The river meadows for a while raised broom corn on a large scale until the corn land of the west made competition impossible. Today these low-lying districts which have been under cultivation for over 250 years are raising big crops of tobacco and onions.

The hill towns have not as yet recovered from the last blow delivered to them by western competition.^{*3} Thousands of cellar holes and dilapidated buildings among the hills offer a mute testimony of by-gone thrift and activity.

The evidence seems to point to the fact that the decline of the hill population in Massachusetts was due to the inability of the farmers to adjust their agriculture to the increasingly

*1 E. F. Bowditch, 34th Annual Rept. of Mass. Bd. of Agr., 1886, p. 154.

*2 Hon. James Grinnell, 39th Annual Rept. of Mass. Bd. of Agr. 1891, p. 101.

*3 Rev. W. P. Braman in Transactions of Mass. Agri. Societies, 1851. P. 543-544

high standard of living in competition with towns more favorably situated in respect to soil and adequate marketing conditions.

The people of these sections are in need of an agricultural demonstration, proving the adequacy of some agricultural policy to meet the needs of the present day standard of living.

If the people had been content to live as they did before the days of invention and railroads, the hill communities would be as populous today as in their early history.

There are several contributing reasons for the decline in the agricultural population. The East because of its adequate waterpower in the early part of the 19th century rapidly developed mercantile industries. These commercial and manufacturing enterprises withdrew a large portion of the people from agricultural labor, as they promised seemingly higher wages and ready money.*1

Another reason for the decline of eastern agriculture was the opening up of western lands which did not reach its height until 1880-1890. The emigration to New York, Ohio and Indiana, to the south and north into Canada was of sufficient proportion to cause comment as early as 1822.

A census was taken of the people now living in Amherst who formerly lived in Shutesbury.

Total men and women	89
Women married and left town	20
Women unmarried " " "	12
Women left with husbands who had left Shutesbury	15
Married men leaving town	15
Unmarried " " "	42
Men working on farms in Con.Riv.Valley.	15
Men in trades and professions	27

*1 Henry Coleman, "Yankee Farmer", May, 1841.

Principal cause given for men leaving town,
"to work" for good wages "in the Valley"..... 28

Principal reason for unmarried women leaving,
to work as domestics in the Connecticut Valley
towns.....8

Lonesomeness and lack of modern facilities mentioned
by women.....22

This apparently implies that the larger community life of the surrounding towns have affected the temperment and disposition of the people of Shutesbury.

After twenty years of stagnation in agriculture, an adjustment is once more being made to the new social and economic developments of the times. Market gardens in the vicinity of our large eastern cities are supplying a field for a profitable phase of our agricultural industry. The meadow lands of our large rivers are raising specialized crops of truck, onions, and tobacco, on land that is sold for \$500.00 to \$1000.00 per acre. Since the free lands of the west are practically gone, the hill communities are beginning to receive attention from farmers who realize the convenience of big markets close to their doors; the advantages of education which the east affords and the possibility of earning a fair living from the eastern soils thru the practice of scientifically sound agricultural practices.

Present Status.

(See the accompanying statistical survey for the present social condition of Shutesbury.)

By people living outside the town, Shutesbury is considered a typically depraved community. Whenever an example of decadence is sought, among the first names mentioned is the name of this town. The sentiment prevails that the people of the community are idle, ignorant and licentious. In comparison with modern business enterprise, the first of these accusations is correct. Many of the inhabitants believe, however, that they are busy. To their peculiar uttering sense of industry, they find something to do to fill out the days. It is common knowledge that in many instances, the burden of the family support rests upon the activities of the women and children. Berry-picking, wreath-making and work in the fields furnish the usual employment for the women. This condition does not characterize every family of the group at present, but the community has been tainted by these examples so that the community is now living under the incubus of the former stigma.

The town on the whole is static. The larger farms have all been abandoned and have grown up to sprout and timber lands. Of the twelve water saw-mills in the town, only one, at Pratts Corner, is now in operation. There are only 4 respectable farms in the community. Of the 55 cows assessed in 1914, 13 of these are to be found on one farm in Pratts Corner, a part of the town which lies adjacent to the Amherst line. Milk is so scarce in the town that two cases of evaporated and condensed milk are sold weekly. One hundred and fifty loaves of bread a

week are carried 9 miles to 20 families living near the center. There is an insufficient amount of hay and grain now produced to supply the needs of the few animals kept. On the average, 4 tons of hay or grain per week are hauled into the town from the railway at Leverett and Cushman, 5 miles distant.

There has been for 15 years no industrial group competition of any sort. Farms have not been worked, hotels have been burned and the shops have been closed for many years.

The people of the community are able to live without extensive business operations, for the following reasons: Their standard of living and the social requirements are not exacting, due to isolation from centers of supply and fashion. They receive small sums from inheritances and the sale of woodlots. In 1915, \$4,126.87 taxes were assessed upon land and property owned by people living outside the town. \$2,757.46 was the total assessment from those residing in the community. Thus, over 66% of the town taxes were paid by outsiders. A large part of the town money remains in the community for services on the roads, for fees and salaries to town officials and for phases of education.*1 One man received \$120 for carrying his own children to school. Several families are aided or supported by outside agencies.

It is not strange that people long separated from the energetic stimuli of modern business standards and requirements should not be imbued with the spirit of progress. Their isolation, lack of marketing facilities for the kinds of produce which

*1 Town Report, 1916. Shutesbury.

tradition has decreed must be raised in the town, together with a fixed social heredity have worked together to effect a condition of relative content with things as they are. Mental activity is fundamental for social activity and progress. The stream of action which touched more fortunate areas, did not reach this town. The advent of automobiles and telephones is bringing the town into closer relations with the outside world. The following study is a statistical survey of the social condition to be found at present in Shutesbury. (The author is indebted to Mr. E. L. Morgan for his assistance in devising the form of this survey.)

Efforts of Progress.

A Professor from the M. A. C., sincerely desiring to be of direct social service other than thru the churches, had become interested in Shutesbury. He believed it a place in which the spirit of neighborliness would help the community to adjust itself to modern conditions. In September, 1913, he first began his work and took with him to the community a small group of people who gave an entertainment in the Town Hall.

The Department of Rural Sociology at the M. A. C. designated the town as a study community. The Community Planning Department of the Extension Service expressed its willingness to advise soon after. In the files of this department may be found detailed notes of the work attempted and accomplished.

On the 17th of January, 1914, a representative of the

Community Building Department of the M. A. C. met ten of the townspeople assembled at the public library and there explained the community building plan which the people of Shutesbury might use to improve their economic and social situation. A community committee was appointed which should cooperate with the state and college and other state agencies in determining a policy for the town's future industrial and social advancement. Only one of the committee appointed had immediate confidence in the project. There was little sentiment in the community expressed for concerted action and for betterment. It is noteworthy that stimuli were applied from without the town and activity enforced, before there had been created a concerted demand for progress.

In order to foster the spirit of mutual help and to show what cooperation might accomplish, it was decided to inaugurate a potato-raising project; an orchard-pruning and spraying project, and to interest the boys and girls in home and school garden schemes. A little time was spent in acquainting the people with the principle of cooperation thru public meetings and personal visits. When it was decided to purchase fertilizers for the potato project, it was disclosed that only two townsmen were willing to pay cash for their materials. In consequence, a note for \$610 was given to the Amherst Bank by three individuals, one of whom was not a member of the community, another was a man who had purchased a home in the town a few months before and had not acquired a community status.

In the eagerness to accomplish something, a cardinal principle of cooperative growth and self-help was violated.

During the ensuing season, 13 men raised 13½ acres of potatoes averaging 225 bu. per acre. The growers were instructed by a representative of the Extension Service as to the proper method for raising a good crop. In the fall, the largest yield per acre was 320 bu. of tubers from an application of 1 ton of fertilizer per acre.*1

The low price paid for potatoes in the fall of 1914 deterred the growers from attempting to sell their product co-operatively, since they believed they could get a better price that year [^]retailing an ungraded product than they could by selling a portion of their crop and thereby be obliged to retain the culls.

The potato raising project, therefore, accomplished satisfactorily only one of two objects for which it was instituted. It gave the members of the community a clear understanding of the correct methods necessary to employ in good potato culture. It did not result in cooperative distribution of produce, and it did not greatly aid in effecting community unity on a cooperative basis. The reasons for this are three. First, the community was not ready nor desirous of fighting its own battles for progress. Secondly, the cooperative spirit had not been sufficiently instilled into the community consciousness. Thirdly, the entire town is still thinking in terms of a self-sufficing agriculture. There are, however, a few signs of progress. For instance, there is a flourishing Grange with more than 40 members. Thru the advent into the community of a retired but vigorously minded

*1 See schedule of crop accounts in files of Community Building Dept., Extension Service, M. A. C.

business man and his wife, three years ago, there has been considerable energy infused into this organization. This fact coupled with the added fact that every local Grange feels a decided impulse for progress thru supervisional stimuli constantly applied from a central interested organization has made it the active social body of the town. Qualities for leadership are recognized quickly. Not only were these two people voted in as Master and Lecturer respectively, but in one year's time after their arrival, the town elected the man to the office of first selectman, a position which he has held for two years. This man and his wife are making the social life of Shutesbury more agreeable. Since they have retired from active business, they are not setting the needed example of good agricultural practice.

The Poles, the Swedes and the Germans are the classes which are attempting to make a living from the soil. Cheap land has attracted these people from the large cities principally, consequently they have little agricultural heredity. They are extremely hard working but are unable to adjust their notion of agricultural practice to the soil and market conditions of the region. Incidentally they are working under a heavy mortgage load imposed by the native stock from whom the farms were purchased. The Poles, on the whole, are not successfully farming. The Swedish families are exhibiting the best type of general farming and seem destined to lead the community in agriculture in the course of a few years. The people of foreign birth, however, are not socially acceptable to the American descendants and the only way in which the foreigners may be assimilated is thru the education of the rising generation.

The Future.

It seems probable that in the very near future these hill farms which once raised good crops and supported numerous herds of cattle will be called upon to contribute to the support of the growing industrial cost.*1

The hill communities have not been contributing the highest value product of which they are capable because the character of the agriculture has not been adjusted to present market demands and modern agricultural systems of farm practice, and not primarily thru the lack of inherent producing power.

The census of 1865 reporting cultivated and uncultivated and wood land shows nearly 4000 acres cultivated, 7500 uncultivated and 3,662 acres of wood land. It is likely that a greater number of acres was under cultivation during the period of greatest population 1820-30. (See Charts of population and land). Much of the acreage formerly under cultivation has been abandoned to timber. Fields which were smooth in preceeding years are now covered with trees. The old stone walk and cellar holes hidden in the midst of a forest ready for cutting, tell of a scene once filled with activity. This land after the timber is cut may be purchased for 50¢ to \$3.00 per acre.*2 With land so cheap and modern methods for removing stumps easily available, it seems as tho a large part of this land might again be tilled or pastured. There is need for a definite, thoro agricultural survey of these hill lands to determine the exact status as a productive factor in the agricultural economy of the future. Beef cattle raising is being advised

*1 K. L. Butterfield, Address before the 100th Meeting of the National Cotton Manufacturers Association, Boston, Mass., March 26 and 27, 1916.

*2 Former Town Assessor - Mark Morrison, No. Amherst Mass.

and found profitable for Vermont and New Hampshire hill districts.*¹ Sheep-raising is urged by Wm. Wood, President of the American Woolen Co., who believes it to be once more a paying business for Eastern farmers. The question of dog license is a matter for local adjustment. Fruit and poultry should take kindly to many sections of these hills.

It does not now seem probable that many of the indigenous people residing in the town will change of their own volition, their present mode of living in order to develop agriculture upon a commercial scale. They have not the technical knowledge, the initiative nor, individually, sufficient capital to make specialized farming profitable.

If these lands should be found capable of reproducing their former agricultural wealth in sufficient volume to support modern standards of living and social practices, it seems reasonable to believe that it will be done by people from outside the town. The new-comers should possess the requisite skill and money to immediately clear and unite the former small farms into economical producing units. This regeneration is likely to occur sooner or later depending upon the insistence of the demand for agricultural products in the east, and upon the margin of profit which farmers will find it possible to make from low-priced land, growing crops or animals in competition with other sections of the country. This regeneration of the industrial life will not solve the rural problem of the hill town. There must be introduced a social life which shall

*¹ S. R. Morrison, Rural New Yorker, April 15, 1916.

provide for cultural, religious, and recreational instincts and customs which human beings demand. A rural civilization will not be complete unless adequate provision is made for the adjustment of both industrial and social life to local environmental needs.

If the group personnel of the community continues as it is at present, it will be well for some agency to demonstrate the possibilities of a profitable type of agriculture suited to the local conditions. Together with this demonstration, the churches and Grange of the community must become conscious of leadership and their obligation to develop ideals of cooperation, rural organization, and social progress which will, in time, lead to community consciousness for efficiency.

The schools, the foundation of the future town, must be made the potential community builders thru a redirection of the subject matter taught, that they may become effective instruments in introducing good farming, high social ideals, and prevent a too rapid drift to the cities.

This task of redirection will necessitate years of intelligent patient leadership by people with zeal and ideals which never waver.

Out side, the development of agriculture as an industry, there are indications that the town, because of the beauty of its scenery and location, may again become a summer resort. A development of this nature might, under the right leadership, do much toward accelerating community progress.

Charts, graphically presenting this data, are to be found in the files Rural Social Science Department, Massachusetts Agricultural College.

SURVEY

Social Condition
of the

Town of Shutesbury, Mass.

1915&1916.

by

Russell F. Lund.

Acknowledgement is made to Professor E.L. Morgan, Massachusetts Agricultural College, for his interest and advice while this survey was being conducted.

RESIDENCES AND NUMBER OF HOMES ON COMMUNITY MAP:

Shutesbury.

1. Town Hall.
2. Crossman Hall.
3. Baptist Church.
4. M. N. Spear Memorial Library.
5. M. A. Haskell - General Store.
6. F. R. Crossman.
7. Frederick W. Brown.
8. John Jalicki.
9. Dwight LaPlante.
10. Andrew Cyron (Pole).
11. John Plaza.
12. Jasper W. Cutter.
13. Eliza Stowell.
14. Woreiki Zembruski.
15. Hattie Ames.
16. Fred H. Plympton.
17. Methodist Chapel.
18. Lake View House - Mrs. Harry Tavener, proprietor.
19. Mrs. Samantha Rogers.
20. Mr. Tremain Dudley.
21. Mrs. Sylvia L. Thomas.
22. W. I. Best.
23. (House burned in March 1915).
24. Mrs. Alonzo Reed.
25. Fred Aldrich.
26. Mrs. Emily C. Miller.
27. E. C. Johnson.
28. William H. Bartlett.
29. Blacksmith shop - Sylvester R. Johnson.
30. Sylvester R. Johnson.
31. Ralph Pratt.
32. Thomas Kacmarcik.
33. Mrs. Margaret McKeon.
34. Walter H. Tenney.
35. West School - #2.
36. Mrs. Jane Barton.
37. Cemetery.
38. No number 38 listed.
39. Mrs. Henry Tenney.
40. Alfred J. Reed.
41. Emmons J. Spear.
42. Thomas H. Ingham.
43. Joseph E. M. Tidlund(owner) - John Wicklund.
44. Rev. A. A. Lawrence.
45. Herbert W. Barnes.
46. Clayton A. Haskell.
47. Center School.
48. Ralph Lawrence.
49. Mrs. Nathaniel Briggs.(Cerinthia E. Briggs, widow of Nathaniel A.)
50. Hermann Dihlmann.

51. Miss Mary L. Clark: Miss Carrie A. Moody.
52. Eddie M. Moore.
53. Samuel E. Bartlett.
54. Edgar Wetherbee.
55. Henry E. Wetherbee.
56. Charles Pratt.
57. Frederic J. Zahn.
58. Charles H. Conwell - Frank Maisner.
59. Joseph Doskocz.
60. Purchased by Bazyli Kuczma.
61. Town Farm. (Occupied by Charles F. Matthews).
62. Michael Hurley.
63. Myron Pierce.
64. Harry Mlinairik.
65. Edwin Slater.
66. J. Howard Osgood.
67. William L. Amidon.
68. John Frank Ryder.
- 68a Clarence N. Mellen.
69. Shop. (Not now occupied).
70. Myron L. Grout. William LaFogg now.
71. Henry M. Hunting.
72. Charles W. White. (Owned by Howard Osgood).
73. Burton Rockwell.
74. Rodney Ingham.
75. John Harrison Bacon.
76. Rodolphus H. Leonard.
77. A. A. Westrich.
78. E. J. Norell.
79. Alphonse Tessier.
80. School - unoccupied.
81. George W. Beach.
82. School.
83. Edith Hills.
84. Thomas Pratt.
85. Samuel Young.
86. Harry W. Fitts.
87. Rufus H. Fitts.
88. Perley W. Wheeler.
89. Joe Campagnari.
90. Pietro Alinsi.
91. Frank Burnett.
92. Albert Pratt.
93. John E. Pratt.
94. Dennis Cadrett.
95. Sibley.
96. Unoccupied.
- 97.
- 98.
- 99.
- 100.
- 101.
- 102.

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

Age Statistics - All Residents.

Under 3 years	25
4 - 6	18
7 - 10	26
11 - 15	23
16 - 20	8
21 - 25	11
26 - 30	5
31 - 35	16
36 - 40	16
41 - 45	18
46 - 50	20
51 - 60	14
Over 60	35
Age not given	13

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

Occupations.

Farmer	24
Housekeeper	10
Laborer.	8
Teamster	2
Saw-mill work	4
None given	7
Painter	2
Blacksmith	2
Teacher.	2
Store-keeper	1
Postmistress	1 (wife of storekeeper)
Hotel-keeper	1
Forestry service	1 (son of hotel-keeper)
Minister	1
Mail carrier	1
Stage driver	1
Piano tuner.	1
Cook	1
Basket worker	3
Supported by town.	1
Baker.	1
Carpenter.	2

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

Income in order of importance and amount.

<u>Principal.</u>	<u>Subordinate I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>
Farm.... 20	Farm..... 6	Farm..... 1	Barber... 1	
Lumber-	Lumber.... 7	Teaming... 1		
mill.. 9	Hired man. 4	Game Warden 1		
Hired man 8	Teaming... 1	Butcher... 1		
Teaming.. 3	General	Baketry.. 1		
Inheri-	work... 2	Carpenter. 1		
tance.. 5	Fireman... 1			
Road	Moth Supt. 1			
Laborer 2				
Store.... 1				
Hotel.... 1				
Stocks... 1				
Pension.. 1				
Doctor... 1				
Blacksmith 1				
Chauffeur 1				
Minister. 1				
Teacher.. 1				
Butcher.. 1				
Mail				
carrier. 1				
Stage				
driver. 1				
Painter.. 1				
Baketry. 1				
Piano				
tuning.. 1				
Cook..... 1				
Town funds 2				

This tabulation includes all those who receive an income, not only the heads of families.

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

Nativity of Heads of Families.

<u>American-</u>	<u>Polish-</u>	<u>Irish-</u>	<u>German-</u>	<u>English-</u>	<u>Swedish-</u>	<u>French-</u>	<u>Italian-</u>	<u>None given</u>
55	6	2	2	1	3	1	1	4

Generations of Family in Township.
(On basis of Parents of Families).

One generation . . 3 families.

Two " . . 6 "

Three " . . 7 "

Four " . . 5 "

Five " . . 1 "

Others gave no report.

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

No. of owners - 50.

No. not specifying - 3.

No. of Tenants - 17.

No. homes included in survey - 70.

Owners by Schedule Number.

6	60
7	62
8	63
9	65
11	66
13	67
16	68
19	71
20	75
21	76
24	77
25	78
26	79
27	81
28	83
30	85
32	86
33	87
34	91
40	92
41	93
42	95
48	
50	
55	
56	
57	
58	

Tenants by Schedule Number.

5
12
15
22
31
43
44
49
51
52
53
54
59
61
69
73
89

Not Specifying by Schedule No.

18
39
45

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

Church Affiliations - No. Families.

None given 49

Congregational . . 11

Baptist. 10

Church attendance - No. Persons over 10
Years of Age.

Occasional 18

Regular. 18

No report.130

Homes Having no Church Relation
By Membership or Attendance.

7	60
8	61
10	63
11	64
12	65
13	67
14	68
15	73
16	75
18	77
22	79
24	81
25	83
28	85
31	86
32	87
33	88
34	89
43	91
45	92
50	93
54	95
55	
57	
58.	

Total number - 47.

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

Sunday-School Attendance.

Homes represented in the Sunday-School.....	16	
Number of children attending regularly.....	10	
" " " " occasionally.....	29	
" " adults " regularly.....	5	
" " " " occasionally.....	2	
Homes represented by adults only	6	
" " " children only.....	9	
" " " " & adults.....	1	
" " " "	10	
" having children not attending.....	30	(4 on papers not numbered)

Children not Attending Sunday-School.
(Between ages of 6 and 18).

<u>No. of home.</u>	8	<u>No. of children not attending.</u>
	8	2
	25	1
	28	3
	32	1
	34	1
	43	3
	50	2
	54	5
	58	1
	60	2
	67	1
	68	1
	73	4
	86	1
	91	1
Barnetts	91	4

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

Education.

No. of people with high school education or above - 24.
No. of families with one or more members with H.S.education - 13.
Children of School age not attending school - 4.
No. of families with children of school age not attending
school - 3.

Periodicals.

Families taking any newspaper - 31.
Families taking any magazine - 21.
Families taking a farm paper - 20.
M. A. C. Bulletins - 2.
Government bulletins - 3.
No periodical of any kind listed on blank - 44.

Social Organization Relation.

No. homes having such relation - 15.
U.S.C.W. - 5, 6, 19, 26, 69, 71, 21, 25, 44, 48, 53, 55, 76, 78.
L. A. - 5, 71, 6, 9, 19, 20, 21, 22, 39, 40, 42.

Fraternal Organization Relation.

No. homes having such relation - 15.
Grange - 5, 6, 19, 24, 25, 26, 29, 40, 42, 44, 48, 53, 69, 87, 49.

SHUTESBURY SURVEY - 1915.

Homes having newspaper, by schedule number -

5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 16, 18, 22, 24, 27, 34, 40, 42, 43,
44, 45, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 57, 51, 61, 67, 71, 78,
87, 88, 91, 93.

Homes having farm paper, by schedule number -

7, 22, 31, 40, 42, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 67,
73, 78, 86, 87, 88, 91, 93.

Homes having magazine, by schedule number -

5, 6, 9, 12, 19, 21, 22, 25, 25, 30, 42, 44, 39, 45,
50, 53, 57, 71, 76, 91.

Homes by schedule number with one or more members having education
in high school or above -

5, 9, 15, 19, 26, 42, 44, 45, 49, 53, 71, 87, 91.

Shutesbury Survey.

Newspapers.

Orange Enterprise- 3
 New York Tribune - 1
 Boston American - 1
 Springfield Union- 9
 Boston Globe - 15
 Springfield
 Republican -4
 Greenfield Record- 4
 Amherst Record - 1
 Springfield Gazette
 and Courier - 1

Farmers' Papers.

Country Gentleman- 1
 Farm and Home - 4
 Hearth & Home - 1
 Successful Farming-3
 Rural New Yorker- 3
 N.E. Homestead - 8
 Green Fruit Grower-1
 Farm Journal - 5
 Poultry Advocate - 1
 Crit - 1

Religious.

N.Y. Christian
 Advocate - 1
 Christian Science
 Journal - 1
 Sabbath Reading
 - 3
 Christian
 Herald- 5
 Watchman - 1
 Spiritual Alli-
 ance Weekly - 1
 Advance - 1
 Missionary
 Herald - 1
 Mustard Seed - 1

Miscellaneous.

American Woman - 1
 McClures' Magazine- 1
 Peoples' Home Journal-1
 World's Work - 1
 Household - 2
 Delineator - 4
 World Today - 2
 Mothers' Magazine - 2
 Billboard - 1
 Ladies' Home Journal-1
 Gentlewoman - 1
 Woman's Home Com-
 panion - 1
 McCall's Magazine- 2
 Housewife - 1
 Youth's Companion- 2
 Current Events - 1
 New Ideas - 1
 World's Crisis - 1
 Farm & Fireside - 2
 Missouri & Kansas
 Farmer - 1
 Scandinavia - 1
 Western America - 1
 Christian World - 1
 Woman's World - 1
 Healthy Home - 1

Record of Chris-
 tian Work - 1
 Endeavor World-1

